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MEMORIAL

OF

JOSHUA LEAVITT,

Praying that, in the revision of the tariff laws, the principle of discrimination may be inserted in favor of those countries in which American grain, flour, and salted meat, are admitted duty free.

1607

JUNE 23, 1842.
Referred to the Committee on Agriculture.
JULY 1, 1842.
Ordered to be printed, and that 3,000 additional copies be furnished for the use of the Senate.

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

THE UNDERSIGNED RESPECTFULLY REPRESENTS:

That, on the 25th day of February, 1841, your memorialist had the honor to address a memorial to Congress, which was printed by order of the Senate, in which he endeavored to bring together, in a small compass, a variety of information on the subject of American wheat, its importance as an article of commerce, and the impediments to its exportation to foreign countries. This memorial, on a subject which had never before been brought specifically to the notice of Congress, nor presented by Congress to the consideration of the people, was read by many citizens with considerable interest, was reprinted in several newspapers, and was printed and several thousand copies distributed by the Legislature of New York. It is given without the accompanying tables in the appendix to this memorial.

Since that time, the subject of an adequate and equitable market for the wheat product, and other provisions of the United States, has increased in interest and importance, and your memorialist again begs leave to present to Congress a digest of such information as he has been enabled to obtain, and to accompany it with a more specific suggestion for the action of the Government than he was then prepared to offer.

The production and exportation of provisions generally, of which wheat flour is necessarily the leading article, must constitute one of the great interests of the American nation, for whose advancement it is the duty of Congress to care. It is believed that the corn and provision laws of Great Britain and France constitute the principal obstacle to the indefinite extension of this interest, and that the removal of that obstruction would not only be an immense advantage to the agriculture of this country, but would impart an immediate spring to trade generally, which would not only restore our revenue, revive our credit, and stimulate our industry, but would also confer equal benefits upon the people of those countries, and, by multiply-

Thomas Allen, print.

ing the ties of mutual advantage and dependance of nations, greatly enhance the motives to mutual justice and permanent peace.

Your memorialist has reason to believe, that there exists a very inadequate idea, among the statesmen and people of the United States, of the character of the means which are now employed for the repeal of those laws, and the prospect there is of their success at no distant day, especially in Great Britain, in obtaining the removal of all duties on the importation of provisions. He, therefore, asks attention to a brief sketch of the rise and progress of those efforts, and of the present aspect of the question.

THE ANTI CORN LAW LEAGUE.

The present system of efforts for the abrogation of the corn laws in Great Britain, may be said to have commenced in the fall of the year 1838, among the manufacturers and merchants of Manchester, in consequence of a communication by Doctor Bowring, on the effect which the corn laws were producing in the prodigious increase of manufactures in Germany. The association was formed, of which John Benjamin Smith, Esq., chairman of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and now M. P., was appointed treasurer, and Richard Cobden, Esq., now M. P., was the secretary. The objec twas, the general diffusion of information, by lectures, papers, and pamphlets, and by the organization of societies to bring numbers to act together in such force, and with such energy, as to secure the object—the complete freedom of the trade in food.

In February, 1839, subscriptions had been raised, amounting to £5,900, and a convention was held in London, of nearly 300 delegates, representing almost all the large towns in the kingdom. The Anti Corn Law League, now formed, was a union of all the local associations, the centre of its operations being at Manchester, where the movement began, and where were its most devoted and energetic promoters. A newspaper was established, which is still in existence, and additional lecturers were engaged. In an appeal of the League for still larger support in its now extending operations, they say: "The time has now arrived when we must enlarge the circle of our supporters, to enable us to extend the field of our operations. We ask for the pecuniary assistance of all who believe in the justice and paramount importance of the abolition of the food monopoly. We have entered upon the herculean labor of educating an entire nation. To inform twenty-seven millions of people upon all the evils of monopoly, and all the advantages of free trade, will require an expenditure of money proportionate to the greatness of the undertaking. We ask—nay, we claim the prompt pecuniary aid of the bread-eaters of the kingdom, of whatever class, sex, age, sect, or calling; we call on all to contribute toward the glorious object of untaxing the bread of the people, and striking the fetters from the industry of a great nation."

The Manchester Chamber of Commerce took up the matter in earnest. The most eminent merchants and manufacturers assembled, and, "after a debate of five hours, at their first meeting, adjourned their discussion for a week to give time for reflection and consideration upon the course they should pursue, and then, after another debate of five hours' duration, solemnly (for no other term will convey the deep interest manifested by the Chamber, during the whole of their two long sittings) declared, by a majority of at least six to one, *that, unless the corn laws be immediately abolished, the destruction of our manufactures is inevitable.*"

Having thus hoisted the flag for TOTAL AND IMMEDIATE REPEAL, the League went forward with energy in employing the whole apparatus of popular agitation. Able lecturers were employed; the best talents and learning were industriously exercised in examining and showing the effect of the tax on food, upon the manufacturing, commercial, and moneyed interests, upon agriculture, revenue, morals, religion, and the general happiness; and a variety of publications, from the volume to the small handbill, were issued—catechisms, almanacs, broad sheets, caricatures, &c.—and diffused, by tens of thousands, among the people in all parts of the land. Poetry lent her aid; and, beside numerous contributions of other gifted minds, the Corn-Law Rhymes, of Ebenezer Elliott, would alone give celebrity to this great movement. A single sample is here given:

"CORN LAW RHYME.

"Brain-seared, heart-blighted, goaded to despair,
Friendless, a home all desolate and bare,
A wife and five small children starving there,
Hope cherished long in vain—

"And what had he to fear? Upon his head
Misery the full vials of her wrath had shed;
Those piercing cries, '*Give, father—give us bread!*'
Rang through his maddened brain.

"What could he do? Or whither could he fly?
He could have faced death with unflinching eye,
And with unspotted name laid down to die!
Wife, children, had he none.

"But them, of every human tie bereft,
To the stern mercies of the wide world left—
He thought no more, 'twas but a petty theft,
Detected soon as done.

"A felon stood he—gone his honest name;
(Was *he* or an unrighteous *law* to blame?)
With broken heart he sunk beneath the shame,
In manhood's pith and prime.

"The fatherless and widow, where went they?
God knows. They rotted, starved, or pined away,
A sacrifice (such see we day by day)
To laws that gender crime."

No device was considered too humble to rouse attention, and keep the public mind awake to the theme. Anti corn law wafers were used by the repealers, on their letters sent by mail, with such inscriptions as these:

"Thanks for cheap postage; may we soon have cheap bread.

"The communication with all parts of the empire is good; but free trade with all parts of the world will be still better.

"Let free trade advocates disseminate free trade principles.

"Who passed the corn laws? The landlords. For what purpose? To keep up their rents.

"Gen. i, 29; xliii, 2; Prov. xi, 26; Amos, v, 11; Job xxiv, 10; Prov. xiv, 31; xxix, 7; xxxi, 9."

These agitations were continued, with great energy and increasing success, through the years 1839 and 1840. Up to this time the attention of the anti corn law league had been directed chiefly to the continent of Europe. The almost complete cessation, for many years, of the exportation of flour from the United States to England, being in value only $184,525 for the five years ending with 1838, or an average of $36,905 per year, together with the fact that the United States actually imported wheat in large quantities in the years 1836–'7, had prevented the American trade from coming into view, as a main part of the case involved in the question of corn law repeal. One of the most troublesome arguments of the supporters of the prohibitory system was the alleged impossibility of extending the trade in wheat, or of procuring a reliable supply of food, except by the forced advancement of home agriculture. The field for increased production on the continent of Europe was seen to be quite limited, and yearly growing less by the increase of manufacturing population in those countries.

THE AMERICAN WHEAT TRADE.

In the fall of the year 1840, it fell to the lot of your memorialist to bear a part in directing the attention of the repealers to the wheat-growing regions of the northwest, their actual condition, and the promise they held out of furnishing exactly the desired resource for an unlimited expansion of demand and supply. In a communication to the editor of the Anti Corn Law Circular, dated New York, November, 1840, a statement was made of the extent of the grain region lying north of the rivers Ohio and Missouri, and the numerous population already spread over the territory, chiefly agriculturists, and prepared to devote their energies to the production of wheat. The cheapness and fertility of the land were also alluded to, the extent of navigation, natural and artificial, the price of inland freight, the abundance of water power for flouring, &c. The following paragraphs, from the communication, there is reason to believe, attracted attention in England:

"6. It is said that farmers can raise wheat, and carry it thirty miles to the line of navigation, for forty cents, or twenty pence a bushel, and make it more profitable than any other pursuit, particularly with the use of improved agricultural implements now being rapidly introduced. But, for the sake of being within bounds, I will say fifty cents, or twenty-five pence per bushel.

"13. This vast region is rapidly filling up with a highly-civilized and refined population, whose wants are already created, and their supply with manufactured articles a matter of prime necessity, and they must depend on a market for wheat for the means of payment. If Great Britain will not take their wheat, they can not take her manufactures.

"14. There are no restrictions, duties, or other obstacles to the free production and exportation of as much wheat as the physical force of the population can gather, provided there is a market. Such a population are the best customers to a manufacturing nation.

"15. The export from Great Britain to America will always be as great as we can pay for, and the more Great Britain will let us pay for, the more we shall buy.

"17. There is an immense amount of British capital invested in State and company stocks for canals and railroads, which will be greatly enhanced in security and value if a stable foreign market can be opened for flour.

"18. The tariff compromise ends in 1842, leaving our scale of duties on all dutiable articles fixed at 20 per cent. *ad valorem*. A great effort will be made to restore the protective system, but the spirit of the age is against it, the feeling of a majority of the people is *now* against it, the genius of our institutions is against so artificial and restrictive a system, the northwest is now against it, and an opening abroad for flour will effectually prevent it, and fix our tariff for many years."

These views of the ability of the United States to furnish supplies were fully confirmed afterward by the commercial returns of the year, showing an actual export to England and her colonies, of wheat and flour, to the amount of more than eight and a half millions of dollars; of which nearly five millions of dollars went to supply the deficiency of the English harvest, and the remainder to meet the increased demand in the West Indies. The following table, showing the value of wheat and flour exported in each of ten years, ending with 1840—first, to Great Britain and the colonies, and secondly, to England alone, corroborates this view:

TABLE I.

Year.	Wheat and flour exported—	
	To British dominions.	To England.
1831	$6,946,460	$5,316,579
1832	2,023,342	574,686
1833	1,830,402	118,290
1834	1,437,218	95,534
1835	1,229,647	25,341
1836	803,069	1,134
1837	830,081	6
1838	926,365	62,510
1839	3,718,880	1,337,673
1840	8,555,904	3,985,263

This result showed that the United States had recovered from the combined effects of a bad season, an excessive spirit of speculation, and an unprecedented influx of immigration, which made us momentarily importers of wheat; and that we were now prepared to commence the supply of any demand that might be created.

THE CENSUS OF 1840.

The disclosures made by the census and statistical returns of the year 1840, respecting the growth and products of the northwest, came in to aid this growing impression. Nothing in the history of nations has ever yet equalled it.

TABLE II,

Showing the population of the six new States and Territories of the northwest in the years 1810, 1820, 1830, *and* 1840, *with the increase per cent. in each period of ten years.*

States and Territories.	1810.	1820.	Increase per cent.	1830.	Increase per cent.	1840.	Increase per cent.
Ohio - -	230,760	581,434	152	937,675	61	1,515,695	61.5
Indiana - -	24,520	147,178	500	341,582	132	683,314	100
Illinois - -	12,282	55,211	349	157,575	185	486,173	208
Michigan -	4,762	8,896	87	28,600	222	211,705	640
Wisconsin* -	–	–	–	2,660	–	30,692	1,054
Iowa* - -	–	–	–	–	–	43,117	
Total -	262,324	792,719	202	1,468,092	85	2,970,696	102

* In 1838 Wisconsin had 18,149 inhabitants, and Iowa had 22,859. Consequently, Wisconsin has gained, in two years, 12,430, or 69 per cent., and Iowa has gained, in two years, 20,358, or 90 per cent.

TABLE III.

The returns of the grain crop of 1839, *showing the whole product of wheat, Indian corn, and all other grains, of the six northwestern States and Territories, with the proportion of each to each inhabitant.*

States and Territories.	Wheat, bushels.	To each inhabitant, bushels.	Indian corn, bushels.	To each inhabitant, bushels.	All other grains, bushels.	To each inhabitant, bushels.	Total bushels.	To each inhabitant, bushels.
Ohio - -	16,571,661	11	33,668,144	21.5	16,052,887	10.6	66,292,692	43.7
Indiana - -	4,049,375	6	28,455,887	41.6	6,188,260	9	38,693,525	56.6
Illinois - -	3,335,393	7	22,634,211	46.5	5,216,250	10.7	31,185,854	64.2
Michigan -	2,157,108	10	2,277,039	10.5	2,389,681	16	6,823,828	32.2
Wisconsin -	212,116	7	379,359	12.4	430,195	14	1,021,670	33.2
Iowa - -	154,693	3.5	1,406,241	32.5	227,117	5.3	1,788,051	41.4
	26,480,346	8.9	88,821,181	29.9	30,504,390	10.2	145,805,620	49
Remaining States and Territories	58,342,926	4.2	288,710,694	20.6	122,665,765	8.6	469,719,385	33.5
United States -	84,823,272	5	377,531,875	22.2	153,170,155	9	615,525,302	36.2

It is estimated that the consumption of all kinds of grain, in Great Britain, is fifteen bushels to each inhabitant, of which about three bushels is wheat. From the above table, it appears that the remaining States produce more than a liberal supply of grain for their own consumption, with a considerable surplus for export, and that, consequently, the present surplus of the northwest, with the rapidly increasing quantity, is available for any foreign market that may be opened. When it is taken into consideration that it is but a very few years since the northwest was able even to feed its own increase of population, this sudden show of so large a surplus can not but arrest attention of foreign statesmen looking for a supply, and of American statesmen looking for a market for such immense products as will soon be found in those fertile regions. To the undersigned, the idea of creating a home demand for such a surplus is not to be thought of a moment. Even despotism could hardly in one generation change the habits and employments of a sufficient portion of the people of this country to equalize the consumption and production of food without a foreign market. In a republic, to which the pursuits of agriculture are peculiarly congenial, and in a country possessing such a surplus of land, the attempt to accomplish a result so utterly against nature, could have no other effect than to perplex and distress the people, and eventually destroy the statesmen who should show themselves so little acquainted with the circumstances of the country and the genius of our institutions.

SALES OF LAND IN THE NORTHWEST.

Another class of statistical facts which were brought to the attention of the British public about the period referred to, and calculated to confirm the conclusions indicated above, were designed to show the quantity of land that had already passed into individual ownership by actual sale from the United States, showing at once the resources of the population, and their almost entire devotion to agriculture, together with the opportunity remaining for a prodigious growth both of population and production. The tables were prepared in the beginning of the year 1841. To bring them down to the present time would not materially alter the general result; the labor of altering them is therefore avoided.

TABLE IV.

Showing the whole quantity of land in the six northwestern States and Territories (excepting that covered by Indian titles in Wisconsin and Iowa); the quantity sold to January 1, 1841; *the amount per cent.; the value, the rate per acre, and quantity remaining unsold, with the amount per cent.*

States.	Quantity.	Sold.	Pr. ct sold.	Value.	Per acre.	Unsold.	Pr. ct. unsold.
	Acres.	Acres.				Acres.	
Ohio -	24,810,246	12,965,782	52	$22,503,231	$1 73	1,747,258	7
Indiana -	23,459,619	15,280,406	67	19,478,231	1 27	4,274,709	18
Illinois -	35,941,902	11,749,458	30	14,723,451	1 25	18,646,960	52
Michigan -	40,050,832	9,185,720	23	11,557,400	1 26	29,885,315	74
Wisconsin -	47,271,241	1,915,793	4	2,448,043	1 27	45,355,448	95
Iowa -	7,082,832	1,069,255	15	1,504,576	1 41	6,013,577	85
Total -	178,616,672	52,166,414	29	72,214,932	1 38	105,923,258	59

The whole number of acres of land in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is 77,000,000, being but 43 per cent. of the quantity in these six States. Of the 77,000,000 nearly 16,000,000, or over 20 per cent., are incapable of cultivation. Only 47,000,000 are actually cultivated, being 60 per cent. of the whole, or 5,000,000 less than the quantity actually sold by the United States in the northwest. Of course, all lands sold by actual entry are known to be worthy of purchase for agricultural purposes. The cultivated land of the British empire is less than two acres to each inhabitant. These States have 60 acres to each inhabitant, and the quantity sold gives 25 acres to each. The most densely settled State, Ohio, has 15 acres sold to each inhabitant, and has but 39 inhabitants to a square mile, while England has 294 to a square mile. It is obvious that the present proportion of the population to the land is favorable to the greatest quantity of grain according to the number of inhabitants, but that the actual quantity raised for market may increase until the population is ten times as numerous as at present. By the general prevalence of an improved agriculture, it is to be hoped that these new States will be saved from that decline of productiveness, occasioned by a negligent and wasteful husbandry, which has taken place to so melancholy an extent in the older States. There can be no doubt that a proper attention to the culture, under the light which science has shed upon the subject of agricultural chymistry, and the amendment of soils, will fully preserve to the new soil of the northwest its peculiar adaptedness to wheat. The means are everywhere obtainable of restoring to the soil, continually, those elements which the growth of wheat abstracts. The vastly extended diffusion of agricultural knowledge, the increased honor paid to the cultivation of the earth, the necessities of the people, the improvement in agricultural implements, producing so great a saving of labor, all operate in favor of the future productiveness of the northwest.

LANDS OF THE NORTHWEST.

There is another tabular statement, which not only shows the vigorous growth of these States during the last decade, but also explains the fact that so productive a country should for so long a time be actually an importer of bread-stuffs. It is known that so late as the year 1837 flour was carried from Buffalo to Chicago, and sold at the latter place for $25 a barrel. The truth is, the influx of settlers was so great in proportion to those who had been settled long enough to raise a surplus of provisions, that it was impossible to raise enough for the demand. But now, though the influx may be as great, numerically, as ever, the proportion of old settlers furnishes much more than a supply, and the overplus, increasing now in a geometrical ratio, will soon overwhelm the market like an avalanche, unless a foreign opening can be secured.

TABLE V.

Showing the quantity of public lands sold in the four years, beginning with 1833, *in the six northwestern States and Territories, with the per cent. of the original quantity; the quantity sold in the next four years, beginning with* 1837 (*the last quarter of* 1840 *being estimated*), *with the per cent. of the original quantity, and of the quantity still remaining unsold; and the quantity in eight years, with the per cent. of the quantity now unsold.*

Years.	Ohio.	Indiana.	Illinois.	Michigan.	Wisconsin.	Iowa.	Total.
1833	551,153	554,681	360,240	447,780	–	–	1,913,854
1834	478,847	673,656	354,013	512,760	–	–	2,019,276
1835	661,435	1,586,904	2,096,629	630,027	217,543	–	5,192,538
1836	1,282,991	3,245,344	3,199,708	4,189,823	646,133	–	12,563,999
Total in four years	2,974,419	6,060,585	6,010,590	5,780,390	863,676	–	21,689,697
Per cent. of original quantity - -	12	26	17	14	2	–	12
1837	470,420	1,249,817	1,012,849	773,522	178,783	–	3,685,391
1838	243,095	602,424	778,560	97,533	87,256	274,605	2,084,473
1839	242,444	618,748	1,132,876	134,984	650,722	298,152	3,077,926
1840	28,952	121,704	412,837	25,862	135,356	496,498	1,221,209
Total in four years	984,911	2,592,693	3,337,122	1,031,901	1,052,117	1,069,255	10,068,999
Per cent. of original quantity - -	4	11	9	2	2	15	6
Per cent. of unsold now - -	56	60	18	3	2	18	10
Total in eight years	3,959,330	8,653,278	9,347,712	6,812,291	1,915,793	1,065,255	31,758,666
Per cent. of unsold	227	202	51	17	4	18	30

This shows that the quantity of land actually taken up for cultivation in eight years (31,758,666 acres) exceeded by 6,000,000 the whole quantity of cultivated land in England, which is only 25,632,000 acres. The quantity sold in 1836 alone (12,563,999) was greater by 38,719 acres than the cultivated land in Ireland. This land has all been surveyed by the Government, and is held in fee simple under a patent from the President of the United States. The danger of litigated or defective titles, with their blasting influence on agricultural enterprise and social happiness, is consequently very small. A comparison of these tables with the following, can not but satisfy an English inquirer where his country is to look for its supplies of food.

TABLE VI.

Showing the whole number of acres of land in Great Britain and Ireland; the number of acres cultivated, capable of cultivation, and incapable of cultivation, with the centesimal proportions of each; and the quantity of cultivated land to each inhabitant, according to the (estimated) population of 1841.

Countries.	Acres of land.	Cultivated.	Per cent.	Capable of cultivation.	Per cent.	Incapable of cultivation.	Per cent.	Cultivated land to each inhabitant.
England - -	32,342,400	25,632,000	79.2	3,454,000	10.6	3,256,400	10.6	1·68
Wales - -	4,752,000	3,117,000	65.5	530,000	11.1	1,105,000	23.0	3.44
Total -	37,094 400	28,749,000	77.6	3,984,000	10.7	4,361,400	11.7	1.78
Scotland -	19,738,930	5,265,000	26.6	5,950,000	30.1	8,523,930	43.4	1.97
Total -	56,833,330	34,014,000	59.8	9,934,000	17.6	12,885,330	22.6	1.80
Ireland - -	19,441,944	12,525,280	64.4	4,500,000	23.1	2,416,664	12.4	1.40
Isles - -	1,119,159	383,690	34.2	166,000	14.8	569,469	50.8	
Total -	77,394,433	46,922,970	60.6	14,000,000	18.0	15,871,463	20.4	1.88

Of the cultivated land, 40 per cent., or 19,135,995 acres, is arable land.

In 1800, it was estimated that the land cultivated in England was 2.31 acres to each inhabitant; in 1826, 2 acres; in 1836, 1.8; and in 1841, 1.68; or a little more than an acre and two thirds to each inhabitant.

The annual value of the uncultivable lands for other objects, is set at £5,000,000.

TABLE VII.

Showing the population of the several divisions of the United Kingdom in the years 1811, 1821, *and* 1831, *with the increase per cent. in each ten years, and the probable population in* 1841, *with the present (supposed) number of inhabitants to a square mile.*

Countries.	In 1811.	Increase pr. ct. since 1801.	In 1821.	Increase per ct.	In 1831.	Increase per ct.	Estimate in 1841.	Inhabitants to square mile.
England - -	9,588,827	14.50	11,261,437	18.05	13,091,005	16.24	15,217,086	294
Wales - -	611,788	12.97	717,488	17.27	806,182	12.36	905,829	120
Total -	10,200,615	–	11,978,925	–	13,897,187	–	16,122,915	
Scotland - -	1,599,068	12.92	2,093,456	15.93	2,365,114	13	2,672,578	75
Total -	11,799,683	15.11	14,072,381	14.12	16,262,301	14.9	18,795,496	
Ireland - -	–	–	6,801,827	–	7,784,536	14.44	8,908,622	315
Total -	–	–	20,874,208	–	24,046,837	15.19	27,704,118	232

This last table was prepared a year ago, and the population in 1841 was given by conjecture. The official census, which has since been published, makes a very slight variation, the population of the island of Great Britain being 18,664,761.

THE CORN LAW OF 1828.

During the period we are now considering, there was also a remarkable concurrence of circumstances tending to show the ill effects of the corn law, and to compel attention to it, from classes of persons that had been hitherto indifferent to its operations. The corn law then existing, was made in the year 1828, and was designed to afford a complete and perfect monopoly to the agricultural interest of England; and, yet, allow the market to open for foreign grain, whenever a bad harvest should create a scarcity of food. For the accomplishment of these two seemingly incompatible objects, the ingenious device was adopted of the *sliding scale*, the duties rising as the price falls, and falling as the price rises. The price, which regulates the duty, is declared every Thursday, at the exchequer, and was ascertained by first finding the average price of all the grain sold during the week ending on the preceding Saturday, at one hundred and fifty of the principal towns and markets, and then taking an average of this, with the five last preceding general averages, and this last was the declared or general average for that week. When the declared average was 73*s.*, or upward, per quarter of wheat, the duty was 1*s.* per quarter; and when the average was 52*s.*, or under, the duty was 34*s.* 8*d.* The working of the scale may be better understood by referring to the following table, prepared by your memorialist:

TABLE VIII.

Showing the duty on foreign wheat, by the variable scale established by the English corn law of 9 *Geo. IV. c.* 60, *passed July* 25, 1828, *with the corresponding duty on flour per barrel of* 196 *lbs., in sterling money, and its equivalent in Federal currency, and the rate per cent. of the duty.*

Average price per quarter.	Duty per quarter.	Duty per barrel.	Duty in Federal currency.	Rate per cent. of duty.
	s. d.	*s. d.*		
If 52*s.* and under 53*s.*	34 8	20 10¼	$5 05	66.6
53 54	33 8	20 3	4 90	65
54 55	32 8	19 8	4 76	61.1
55 56	31 8	19 0½	4 61	57.5
56 57	30 8	18 5½	4 47	54.7
57 58	29 8	17 10½	4 32	52
58 59	28 8	17 3	4 17	49.4
59 60	27 8	16 7¾	4 02	46.9
60 61	26 8	16 0½	3 87	44.4
61 62	25 8	15 5¼	3 73	42
62 63	24 8	14 10¼	3 59	40.4
63 64	23 8	14 3	3 45	37.7
64 65	22 8	13 7¾	3 29	35.4
65 66	21 8	13 0½	3 15	33.3
66 67	20 8	12 5½	3 01	31.3
67 68	18 8	11 2¾	2 71	27.8
68 69	16 8	10 0¼	2 42	24.4
69 70	13 8	8 2¾	2 08	19.9
70 71	10 8	6 5	1 55	15.2
71 72	6 8	4 0¼	97	9.2
72 73	2 8	1 7½	38	3.7
73 and upward –	1 0	7¼	14	1.3

It will be seen that, until the price reaches 66*s.*, the duty falls one shilling for every shilling that the price rises, then it falls 2*s.* for every shilling that the price rises, until it reaches 68*s.*, then 3*s.* until the price reaches 70*s.*, then 4*s.* until it reaches 72*s.*, and when the price is 73*s.*, the duty sinks at once to the lowest point, 1*s.* per quarter. While the prices rise only 7*s.*, from 66*s.* to 73*s.*, the duty falls 19*s.* 8*d.*, from 20*s.* 8*d.* to 1*s.* Grain and flour may be stored under bond for any length of time, and re-exported, or entered at pleasure, paying on entry the rate of duty then prevailing.

In consequence of a succession of favorable harvests, there was, during the seven years, from 1831 to 1838, an uncommon stability of prices. In March, 1831, the duty was 1*s.*, and it never reached that point again until September, 1838: and from July, 1831, to July, 1838, the duty never fell below 20*s.* 8*d.* During the whole of these seven years, there were constantly from 600,000 to 900,000 quarters of foreign wheat in bond, waiting for a fall of duties, so that it could be entered and sold. The harvest of 1837, was under the average, and that of 1838, quite short, and short harvests have continued until the present time. This has given occasion to test the effects of the system of variable duties, in a great variety of bearings.

FACILITIES FOR SPECULATION.

Its tendency to foster a spirit of gambling speculation has been strikingly disclosed. The rapid fall of the duty, as the prices range high, seems as if contrived for this purpose, for at this stage, a decline of a single shilling, gives the holder of bonded wheat, an additional profit of 5*s.* per quarter, of which, 4*s.* consists in the fall of the duty. Suppose there are 800,000 quarters of foreign wheat in bond, and an apprehension of a short crop raises the price to 66*s.*, the duty is then 20*s.* 8*d.*, which, on that quantity, would amount to £826,000. Now, if, by holding back from the market, the average price can be raised only 7*s.* higher, the duty would be only 1*s.*, amounting to £40,000 for the whole, and making a difference to the holders of £786,000 in the fall of duty, and £280,000 by the advance of prices—a pretty speculation.

Now for an illustration. On the 19th July, 1838, the price was 66*s.*, and duty 20*s.* 8*d.* By the 30th August, the duty had sunk to 6*s.* 8*d.* The *weekly* average for the next week was 74*s.* 5*d.*, but the *general* average was only 72*s.* 11*d.*, one penny short of the rate at which the duties would be at the lowest rate. There were then 919,855 quarters in bond, and the duty 2*s.* 8*d.*, and yet only 4,930 quarters were entered that week. The next week the duty fell to 1*s.*, and during that week, no less than 1,261,894 quarters were taken out of bond. A similar proceeding took place in 1839, and again, in 1840, and again, in 1841. Thus, immense fortunes are realized to the sagacious and lucky, while the price of food is kept unnaturally high; and yet the Government receives but little revenue from the duty, as may be seen by the following table:

TABLE IX.

Showing the quantity of all kinds of grain imported into England from foreign countries in the years 1828 *to* 1840, *the quantity entered, its value, the amount of duty, the average rate of duty, the quantity of wheat entered, the average price per quarter, and the average duty.*

Years.	Imported.	Entered.	Value.	Duty.	Per cent.	Wheat entered.	Average price per quarter.	Average duty.
	Quarters.	*Quarters.*				*Quarters.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*
1828	1,294,378	1,237,494	£1,673,417	£196,834	11.1	842,050	60 5	1 $9\frac{3}{4}$
1829	2,694,432	1,959,355	3,500,433	907,320	25.9	1,364,220	66 3	9 $2\frac{3}{4}$
1830	2,691,884	2,649,348	3,270,745	790,887	24.2	1,701,885	64 3	6 $4\frac{1}{2}$
1831	3,570,569	2,265,392	4,671,354	547,809	11.7	1,491,631	66 4	4 8
1832	668,422	475,680	898,055	309,696	34.5	325,435	58 8	16 2
1833	481,506	112,408	653,229	36,252	5.6	82,346	52 11	5 6
1834	560,056	236,902	617,984	99,416	16	64,653	46 2	5 7
1835	321,206	439,988	333,389	201,673	65	28,413	39 4	5 6
1836	643,502	408,217	743,930	152,791	20.4	32,264	48 6	
1837	1,325,930	842,326	1,490,968	580,200	38.6	246,657	55 10	
1838	1,534,730	1,960,475	2,369,956	183,000	7.7	1,873,912	64 7	
1839	4,591,099	4,657,146	5,949,391	1,684,870	28	2,749,305	70 8	
1840	3,990,522	3,903,518	–	1,159,000				

It thus appears that the sliding scale acts as a bonus on the withholding of corn from the market, until prices rise, and duties sink as low as they can be driven; and thus wheat, instead of entering into the ordinary operations of commerce, to be sold for the average mercantile profit, becomes an article of speculation, at the expense of the people, and for the sole benefit of the speculators.

EFFECT IN DERANGING THE FINANCES.

Another class of influences of the corn laws developed in these years, has been their effect in disordering the financial affairs not only of England, but of the world. London being the centre of the great monetary operations of the world, whatever deranges the system there, is felt at once in every commercial country. The effect of the corn laws is this: whenever prices rise considerably, the dealers in grain ascertain by sending agents over the kingdom what are the prospects of the coming crop. If they are unpromising, then orders are forthwith sent to the foreign markets to purchase grain, to be imported and held in bond until the price can be raised high enough to reduce the duties. This requires to be done as rapidly as possible, and hence the grain of the nearest markets is first bought up, such as Rotterdam, Dantzic, &c. This is bought on credit, but as these countries take but few manufactured goods from England, the day of payment produces a rapid export of specie. This soon begins to drain the Bank of England, which, being the grand regulator, is obliged above all other things to regulate itself. The discounts are immediately curtailed; the rate of interest raised; and every other shift resorted to to prevent the drain of specie from the bank, and to compel sales of stocks and exportation of goods at every sacrifice by the merchants, to effect the foreign payments without specie. It is stated in the British Farmer's Magazine for 1839, vol. 3, p. 304, that, in the first nine months of 1833, no less than eight millions sterling of hard cash were shipped abroad for the payment of foreign corn. How much of the general pecuniary embarrassment of the commercial world for many years past is to be ascribed to the continuance of this state of things through a succession of short crops since 1838, your memorialist is poorly qualified to judge. He begs leave to refer to the following graphic description of the process in the fall of 1840. It is taken from the anti corn law newspaper of October 22, 1840:

"EFFECTS OF THE CORN LAWS.—THE BANK OF ENGLAND IN TROUBLE AGAIN.

"We think everybody connected with trade will agree that the annals of our commercial history do not record any period of continuous distress equal to that which has been experienced during the past four years. We had scarcely recovered from the money panic of 1836, caused by the excessive loans of the Bank of England, when we were visited by a deficient harvest. However much the evils of such a visitation may have been aggravated by the imprudence of the Bank of England, the effects of a bad harvest, under our existing corn laws *must always be*, as we have repeatedly shown, *to cause a sudden drain of specie to pay for foreign corn.* This abstraction of a portion of our currency necessarily makes money scarce, and by reducing the prices of all commodities, creates distress throughout the whole trading community.

"Such being the inevitable effects of one bad harvest under our restrictive corn law, it follows that a great accumulation of distress must be the

necessary consequence of a succession of two or three bad harvests; and this is precisely the situation in which we find ourselves at present.

"In the early part of the present summer the prospects of the harvest were unfavorable, and fears were entertained that the corn crops would again be deficient. 'Orders for foreign corn were immediately sent abroad, and in the course of two or three months we had considerable imports from the continent. No sooner had the corn gamblers got a good supply of foreign corn, than they set to work to raise the average prices of English, and by these means to reduce the duty payable on foreign corn. They succeeded to admiration; the average price of wheat was raised to 72s. per quarter, at which price the duty was reduced to 2s. 8d. per quarter, and then they paid the duty on all the foreign corn in bond, amounting to about a million of quarters!! When they had thus accomplished their object, they set to work to knock down the market, in order to prevent any more foreign corn from coming in at the low duty; and in this they have been quite as successful as they were in raising the market; the average price of wheat last week being 65s. 2d., and the duty being raised in a few weeks from 2s. 8. to 21s. 8d. per quarter!!

"*Do our readers now see why the corn gamblers are such sticklers for the fluctuating scale?*

"Now the foreign corn which was ordered under the impression of a bad harvest had all to be paid for in two or three months, in addition to our imports of all other commodities, and there was no other way of paying for it in so short a time but in specie. A drain of gold on the Bank of England therefore commenced when her stock was about £4,500,000, and it has gone on till (during a month) it is reduced to about £3,500,000. No wonder, looking to the past, that the directors of the Bank of England became alarmed; the prospects of war cut off all hopes of a repetition of relief from the Bank of France, and forced them to take decisive measures. The *Banker's Circular* of the 16th instant refering to the subject, says:

"'Owing to the untoward and perplexing nature of political affairs *and the adverse action of the corn trade*, the duties of the Bank of England have become so onerous and difficult as to demand the serious consideration of the Government. If any man had in July, 1836, predicted that within about *four years* from that date the Bank of England would be under the necessity of resorting *three times* to such extraordinary measures of restriction as were never found to be necessary during the ten years which preceded July, 1836, he would have been regarded as a gloomy dreamer. But the most remarkable feature of the case is, that, within less than twelve months from the extreme point of pressure in 1839, when the bank was seeking assistance from the Bank of France, the directors again find themselves under the necessity of checking commercial operations and the circulation of credit by a restrictive regulation. They have abridged the date or term of bills to be taken in to be discounted at all their establishments, from ninety-three to sixty-five days.'

"The object of the Bank of England in making money scarce is declared by the directors examined before the committee of the House of Commons on banking, to be '*to encourage imports, and, by lowering the prices of manufactures, to encourage exports;*' and the step now taken is with a view to accomplish these ends.

"Now, it is important for merchants, manufacturers, traders, and laborers, to look to the working of this system upon their particular interests. '*To encourage exports, prices must be reduced.*' Exports of what? Of corn,

cattle, butter, cheese, or agricultural produce of any kind? No. Does anybody ever hear of exports of these? But sacrifices *must* be made; exports *must* go to keep the gold at home. What is it then that we *must* export? Look at the custom-house lists, and there you will see exports, *not of corn*, but of manufactures of cotton, woollen, linen, hardware, &c., &c. Then it is the prices of *these* that must be reduced to tempt foreigners to take them instead of gold. The land owners have made the corn law to protect themselves from any sacrifices to keep the gold at home. The price of wheat in England is 65*s.* a quarter, and it will only sell for 45*s.* per quarter on the continent. The merchant, the manufacturer, the trader, the laborer, are made by this infamous law, to bear all the burden and all the sacrifice of property consequent on the drain of gold to pay for foreign corn, and to pay, besides, double the price for their bread! ! ! But it is not only on their goods that merchants and manufacturers must make sacrifices. A large portion of their capital has been invested in railways, and this stock being more readily convertible into money than goods, they have been obliged, in consequence of the sudden restriction by the Bank of England, to raise money by selling railway stock. Mark the sacrifice in three days, as noted in the following extract from the circular of respectable share brokers dated 19th instant:

"'Our market continues in a very unsettled state. Towards the close of the week most descriptions of stock, and especially the leading lines of railway, experienced a sudden and material decline in price, attributable more to the measure adopted by the Bank of England for restricting the circulation, than from any real pressure of stock for sale.

"'We have to notice a fall in the following lines, viz: London and Birmingham old, £7 per share; thirds and quarters in proportion. Great Western, £3. North Union, £3. Grand Junction, £4 to £5. Bolton and Bury, £2. Eastern Counties, 10s. to 15s. Liverpool and Manchester halves and quarters, £2. Midland Counties, £2. North Midland, £3. Manchester and Leeds, £4 to £5.'

"If the operation of the corn laws be not understood, we know of nothing more calculated to open people's eyes than the frequent drains of gold. Let them ask themselves the question: 'Do we ever hear of drains of gold to pay for foreign cotton, wool, tobacco, or timber? Then why should there be drains of gold to pay for foreign corn?' Why, when we want foreign corn, should the Bank of England be always in trouble, and be obliged to bring ruin on merchants and manufacturers, and throw thousands of industrious work-people out of employment?"

This is a striking confirmation of the remark which was made by the present Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Webster, at the great English agricultural dinner at Oxford, on the 17th of July, 1839, that "if there is a frost in England fifteen days later than usual, or a few days drought, or ten days cold instead of dry and warm, every exchange in Europe and America feels the consequence." It is by this artificial system that a state of things is produced, from which a few days unseasonable rain on that little island spreads disaster and ruin over the whole commercial world. What was then theory, is now history. And the corn laws are the corner-stone of the system.

In the following season, 1841, similar effects followed. The prospect of the harvest being unfavorable, the price of wheat rose, and duties fell from 20*s.* 8*d.* on the 6th of August, to 1*s.* on the 10th of September. The quantity of wheat in bond, 1st September, was more than a million of

quarters; the quantity imported in the month of September was 1,164,738, and the quantity entered was upward of two millions. While the crisis was approaching, the following account appeared in a London paper:

"We have on several occasions lately alluded to the critical position of the Bank of England, with little over £5,000,000 of gold in her coffers, exposed to a drain to pay for more than two millions of quarters of foreign grain if the weather should continue unfavorable; and, under any circumstances, being called upon to find gold equivalent to the price of 1,000,000 of quarters, at 50*s.* per quarter, which would place the bank precisely in the same peril as in November, 1839, when the stock of gold was reduced to £2,500,000, and bankruptcy avoided by a loan of £2,000,000 from the Bank of France. The truth of our remarks begins now not only to be felt, but fairly acknowledged; for notwithstanding the propitious advent of the 'new moon,' and somewhat better weather, the organ of the bank parlor admits in a long article this morning, they do not know that any well-grounded argument can be opposed to the general force of such conclusions. 'Our contemporaries are impressed,' says the 'accredited organ' of the old lady, 'with the conviction that every quarter of wheat imported must be paid for in hard cash; and this within so short a period, that is to say, immediately upon the termination of the continental harvests, that without a most circumspect and provident administration, *the coffers of the bank must inevitably be drained of their last sovereign before the end of the year.*"—*From the London Evening Chronicle, Aug.* 18, 1841.

The following table, from the British Almanac for 1842, will show something of the effect of this periodical depletion of the Bank of England, in regard to both years, 1840 and 1841, where the circulation, the deposites, and the stock of specie, all diminish, about the time that foreign corn requires to be paid for:

TABLE X.

Quarterly average of the weekly liabilities and assets of the Bank of England, from October, 1840, *to October,* 1841.

LIABILITIES.

Quarters ending	Circulation.	Deposites.	Total.
1840.			
November 10	£16,798,000	£6,396,000	£23,194,000
December 8	16,446,000	6,337,000	22,783,000
1841.			
January 5	16,112,000	7,049,000	23,161,000
February 2	16,230,000	7,365,000	23,595,000
March 2	16,372,000	7,567,000	23,939,000
March 30	16,537,000	7,212,000	23,749,000
April 27	16,587,000	7,225,000	23,812,000
May 25	16,615,000	7,242,000	23,857,000
June 22	16,632,000	7,218,000	23,850,000
July 20	16,821,000	7,746,000	24,567,000
August 17	17,228,000	7,956,000	25,184,000
September 14	17,481,000	8,052,000	25,533,000
October 12	17,592,000	7,529,000	25,121,000
November 9	17,272,000	7,385,000	24,657,000

TABLE X—Continued.

ASSETS.

Quarters ending	Securities.	Bullion.	Total.
1840.			
November 10	£22,319,000	£3,729,000	£26,048,000
December 8	22,078,000	3,511,000	25,589,000
1841.			
January 5	22,362,000	3,557,000	25,919,000
February 2	22,595,000	3,816,000	26,411,000
March 2	22,725,000	4,076,000	26,801,000
March 30	22,328,000	4,339,000	26,667,000
April 27	22,082,000	4,638,000	26,720,000
May 25	21,817,000	4,921,000	26,738,000
June 22	21,601,000	5,098,000	26,699,000
July 20	22,275,000	5,170,000	27,445,000
August 17	23,012,000	5,106,000	28,118,000
September 14	23,567,000	4,975,000	28,542,000
October 12	23,428,000	4,713,000	28,141,000
November 9	23,127,000	4,491,000	27,618,000

DEPRESSION AND DISTRESS OF MANUFACTURES.

The effect of the corn laws, in depressing and embarrassing the manufacturing interest, also attracted much attention during the latter part of 1840. The failure of the customary orders for goods, for the American market, was a source of great uneasiness. It was found, on inquiry, that the reason why no more goods were ordered was, that no more could be paid for. The continued low price of cotton had curtailed that resource for payment, and the corn laws prevented the provisions of the northwest from being received. This state of things compelled the manufacturers to diminish their work; and the reduction of employment and wages to the operatives, added to the high price of food created by the corn laws, produced the most severe and protracted distress. The following extracts from English publications, during the latter part of 1840, and the first part of 1841, will throw light upon the state of things then existing:

"We deeply regret to say, that, since our last report, goods and yarns have been even more difficult to sell, and prices of most kinds of goods have again declined. The manufacturers and spinners are becoming embittered and desperate, and rack their brains to devise means of extricating themselves from the pending storm; but, instead of having recourse to the only remedy left—namely, a curtailment of their production, some have, and others are attempting, to reduce the wages of both weavers and spinners."—*London Sun, October* 19, 1840.

"To give anything like a correct picture of the depressed state of trade in Birmingham, and its consequences, would be no easy matter. A few facts may give some idea: The oldest, most extensive, and respectable merchants, manufacturers, and traders, concur in representing the present depression as unprecedented in their experience. Ten thousand applications, by working men and women, for free passage to Australia, have been made and refused, within the last two months, at one emigration office in

the town. Between twenty and thirty good houses and retail shops are untenanted in three of the principal streets, and thousands of middle and small-rented houses are unoccupied in every part of the borough. The walls are literally covered, daily, with auction bills; and a purchaser can hardly be found for either leasehold or freehold property. The brokers' shops are crammed with goods purchased at half the cost-price. The pawnbrokers, being completely stocked, refuse any except what are termed best pledges."—*Birmingham Journal.*

"In consequence of the unfavorable prospects of the coming winter, a number of individual spinners and manufacturers, in various parts of the neighborhood, have already ceased to light up their factories. We have not heard of any agreement to that effect, but understand that several meetings, for the purpose of considering the subject, are in contemplation."—*Manchester Guardian.*

"Your miserable manufacturers starving without resistance, or dying at the point of your bayonets: that is the futurity which awaits you. But there are other prospects in the distance: a ruined gentry, decayed farm-houses, neglected fields, a dismembered and fallen empire—the fruits of what? *The grinding covetousness of the landed interest.*"—*London Morning Chronicle.*

"All this suffering exists in the midst of the elements of prosperity. Industry, intelligence, experience; land and raw produce in abundance on one side of the Atlantic; capital and mechanical skill on the other; both countries brought so closely together, by the magic powers of steam, that interchange of commodities is easy and not expensive. How does it happen that we hear of nothing but distress, embarrassment, and anxiety, for the future?"—*London Spectator.*

"*Condition of the laboring classes in Great Britain.*—According to the journal of the Statistical Society, of January, 1840, there are in Liverpool 7,862 inhabited cellars, damp, dark, dirty, and ill-ventilated, and these lodge 39,300 of the working classes. In Manchester, of 132,232 work-people, 14,960 live in cellars. At Bury, one-third of the working classes are so badly off that, in seven hundred and seventy-three houses, one bed serves for four persons; in two hundred and seven, one for five; and in seventy-eight, one for six human beings; and in Bristol, forty-six out of every hundred of the working classes, have but one room for a family."

"*Competition with foreigners.*—Every day increases the difficulties of our productive classes, in sustaining a competition with foreigners in the various departments of manufacturing industry. Without some speedy and effectual means of relief, imminent danger will surely overtake them, and every day sees them nearer and nearer to insolvency and ruin. A correspondent of the Morning Chronicle, referring to a case of fine cutlery, last week, landed at the London custom-house, says that their near approach to English manufacture, and the low price at which they can be brought to market, make one tremble for Sheffield and Birmingham. 'We can not,' says he, 'keep them out of the market. Do what you will—set all the tyranny and ill-nature to work of which human nature is capable, yet will they beat you. They must beat you.'"

"*Decline of exports.*—The decrease of woollen exports from this country has been exciting considerable attention and discussion. The decline

in this particular branch of commerce has been frightfully augmenting within the last few years, particularly in the trade with Russia, Germany, and the United States.

	1820. Pieces.	1830. Pieces.	1840. Pieces.
Russia - - - -	31,824	7,415	1,680
Germany - - - -	91,802	54,502	21,572
United States - - -	76,114	101,294	46,945
The total decrease of exports from Great Britain to foreign countries -	427,288	445,360	258,942

"*The land of dearness.*—I stopped at a little cottage this morning, half smothered with roses, geraniums, &c., and, on pretext of looking at a baby, made good my entrance. The little bit of an apartment, not more than six feet by ten, was as neat as possible. Not an article of its scanty furniture looked as if it had been bought by this generation; everything appeared cared-for and well-preserved, so unlike corresponding dwellings with us. The woman had nine children; six at home, and all tidily dressed. I have not seen in England a slovenly-looking person. Even the three or four beggars who stealthily asked charity of us at Portsmouth, were neatly dressed. I greeted, *en passant*, a woman sitting at her cottage window. She told me she paid, for half of a little tenement and a bit of a garden, ten pounds (fifty dollars) rent. And when I congratulated her on the pleasant country, 'Ah,' she said, 'we can not live on a pleasant country!' I have not addressed one of these people who has not complained of poverty—said something of the difficulty of getting work—of the struggling for bread—which is the condition of existence among the lower classes here. Strange sounds, these, to our ears!"—*Miss Sedgwick.*

"*The burden of the food taxes.*—The calculation is founded on the following basis:

"'I consider that the taxation imposed upon the country by our duty on corn, and the provision duties and prohibitions, are far greater, probably much more, than double the amount of the taxation paid to the treasury.'

"Evidence of John M'Gregor, Esq., joint secretary to the board of trade, given before the Committee of the House of Commons on Import Duties, July 16, 1840.

"'I conceive the actual money paid, and the evil effect computed in money, would be more than the whole revenue of the country.'

"Statement of James Deacon Hume, Esq., lately retired, after thirty-eight years' service in the customs, and eleven years as secretary to the board of trade.

"By the above computation, the sum levied upon the bread-eaters, since the passing of the bread tax in 1815, amounts this day to £1,166,000,000.

"The tax amounts to two millions sterling each fortnight of its existence."

A clergyman of Manchester writes thus to a friend in Boston:

"I am just now full-handed with meetings for the relief of the poor and destitute. *They pray to be transported!* They say, by thousands, 'Send us to South Australia, &c.; throw us ashore, and we will trust in God to get food by our labor!' We are in a fearful state in Manchester. Unless

some effectual relief be afforded by Government, before the winter, we shall be in danger of a dreadful commotion."

Many of the most distinguished British writers, in comparing the condition of the two countries, declared their full conviction of the prejudicial effects of the corn laws, and of the indispensable importance of opening the trade with the corn-growing regions of America, as the only means of relief from the present difficulties. The following paragraph is from Mr. Buckingham's new work on America:

"It is impossible to read these accounts of the immense resources, for the production of food, which the United States of America contain, and which a journey across the State of New York, alone, is sufficient to verify, without lamenting the first imposition of any prohibitory laws, against the freest intercourse between this country and Great Britain, in the interchange of their respective productions. The first effect of our refusing to receive American grain, free of all duty, has been to induce the Americans to prohibit our manufactures by a high tariff, and to set up manufactories for themselves; and the next effect has been to keep up the price of food at so high a rate in England, as to put it out of the power of millions of our population to obtain sufficient for their full and proper nutriment. We thus do each other mutual injury, without the slightest countervailing good. If we would permit a free trade in grain, the Americans would take from us more than double the amount of manufactures that they now consume, paying us in wheat and flour, and would never think of becoming our rivals as manufacturers. But because we will not take their products in payment, they not only will not buy of us, but set up as our rivals or opponents; and, from their abundant food, they will, in a short time, produce goods at rates sufficiently cheap to meet us in foreign markets, while every year will increase our difficulties and lessen theirs, till they pass us in the race, and leave us unable to overtake them. It is, indeed, high time that this evil were corrected. There is, perhaps, yet time to amend it now; but if left for a few years longer, it will be too late; and those influential and powerful classes in England, who now vainly imagine that they are protecting their own incomes from and by this fatal policy, will be among the first to lament that they did not take warning before the laboring classes of the country were reduced to a state of want, of which the wealthiest among the landholders will then feel the burden."

Miss Martineau, in her book on society in America, in 1835, writing from actual observation during extensive travel and minute investigation, says:

"The prospects of agriculture, in the States northwest of the Ohio, are brilliant. The stranger who looks upon the fertile prairies of Illinois and Indiana, and the rich alluvions of Ohio, feels the iniquity of the English corn laws as strongly as in the alleys of Sheffield and Manchester. The inhuman perverseness of taxing food is there evident in all its enormity. The world ought never to hear of a want of food; no one of the inhabitants of its civilized portions ought ever to be without the means of obtaining his fill, while the mighty western valley smiles in its fertility. If the aristocracy of England, for whom those laws were made, and by whom they are sustained, could be transported to travel, in open wagons, the boundless prairies, and the shores of the great rivers which would bring down the produce, they would groan to see from what their petty, selfish

interests had shut out the thousands of half-starved laborers at home. If they could not be convinced of the very plain truth, of how their own fortunes would be benefited by allowing the supply and demand of food to take their natural course, they would, for the moment, wish their rent-rolls at the bottom of the sea, rather than that they should stand between the crowd of laborers and the supply of food which God has offered them. The landlords of England do not go and see the great western valley; but, happily, some of the laborers of England do. Far off as that valley is, those laborers will make themselves heard thence, by those who have driven them there, and will teach the brethren, whom they have left behind, where the blame of their hunger lies. Every British settler, who ploughs a furrow in the prairie, helps to plough up the foundations of the British corn laws."

The Westminster Review, the zealous advocate of equal rights, in the number for September, 1840, thus reasons:

"In the years 1838 and 1839 the laboring classes of Great Britain suffered great and almost unexampled privations, caused chiefly by the high price of provisions, and the scarcity of employment. The high price of provisions was the result of the operation of a law made by the land-owners in Parliament, giving to them the monopoly of the home market, and prohibiting the importation of foreign food, until that produced by the British law-making land-owner reached a 'remunerating,' or, to speak more correctly, a *famine* price. The harvests of 1838 and 1839 were deficient in quantity, and the latter also in the quality of the grain; the price of grain rapidly advanced, and a larger portion of the laborers' wages was required to purchase even a diminished supply of food. If his wages remained the same as before, he had a smaller sum at his disposal to purchase clothing and other articles necessary to the comfort of his family; and as food must be *first* had, his purchases of manufactured goods became more limited. The demand for manufactures for the home trade gradually declined, and employment was less abundant, while the competition among the workmen became every day more severe, as their privations made them more eager to seize any employment, however badly paid, that promised to save them, for a time, from the horrors of starvation. This competition among the laborers for the little employment offering, naturally and inevitably reduced wages; and low wages, little work, and bread at double price, was the lot of thousands of our unhappy countrymen! Among the agricultural laborers matters were no better; they were, if possible, worse; for the pittance which is given them under the name of wages is too little, at any time, to bear the smallest reduction without the infliction of the severest suffering. Their privations during the years to which we refer are little known to many of our readers; but some idea may be formed of them from the evidence of the farm laborers who were examined before the anti corn law delegates in London. If any one is desirous of knowing their condition, and the amount of their comforts, let him try to divide and subdivide 7*s.*, or 8*s.*, or even 10*s.*, so as to support a man, and his wife, with a family of five children, with a week's rent, fire, candles, clothing, &c., all to be paid for out of this fund, which, given to a man for a week's hard labor, in cruel mockery of justice is termed 'wages!'

"During the session of 1839 half a million of men petitioned Parliament to examine into the misery and wrong produced by the corn law, and their petitions were received with impatience, their wrongs were laughed at, sneered

at, denied, and contemned. Last session a million and a half of men petitioned the Parliament for relief from the grinding oppression of the corn law, and the prayers of a million and a half of men were treated with derision by the land-owning aristocracy of the empire. The twenty-fifth year of peace is signalized by the establishment of a trained police throughout the towns and villages of once-contented England, and the British army is increased, not to repel some daring invader, but to war ingloriously with their fellow-countrymen, whose powers of endurance have given way beneath the galling tyranny of a law which dooms them and their helpless offspring to the bitter woes which are attendant upon hopeless poverty and unrequited toil.

"When insurrection reared its front in China, the emperor 'took blame to himself, and became more than ever intent upon cultivating virtue, and exercising a mild government;' but measures of repression, of aggravated wrong, measures to stifle the cry for justice and for bread, are those to which the legislators of our country have recourse. Must the proud monarchy of England fall by the selfishness of the aristocracy which itself has created? Must the prosperity and the vaunted freedom of Englishmen expire beneath the all-withering blight of a cursed monopoly? Shall the cry of the needy be forgotten? Shall the expectation of the poor perish for ever?"

"Disguise the fact as you may, argue the point in all its bearings, this is the plain state of things; while capital extorts from production the utmost that competition will enable it to do, the prices here will be so much above those of the continent, that continental labor, in spite of our science and machinery, will shortly undersell us in every market in the world, where we now enjoy a forced monopoly. The most pestilential of these capitalists is now the landholder. The undue protection afforded him by the provision laws discourages the whole economy of our commercial and manufacturing interests. This the author before us acknowledges, and, despairing of a remedy, bids us look to an uncultivated monopolized market that we still enjoy, the millions of India. With all deference, the proposed remedy is pitiable. Enable those millions, if you can, first to *become* consumers. 'They,' in the language of the poet, 'want but little here below,' and their priests and their rulers take care to make that little almost unattainable to them. For the remedy of the threatened evil of foreign competition we must look at home. *Remove the curse of the corn laws first!*"—*Metropolitan, October*, 1840.

"Our town population, it has long been remarked, is becoming almost as mobile and almost as uneasy as the American. It ought not to be so with our agriculturists; they ought to be the counterbalancing element in our national character; they should represent the type opposite to the commercial—that of moderate wishes, tranquil tastes, cultivation of the excitements and enjoyments near at hand, and compatible with their existing position.

"To attain this object, how much alteration may be requisite in the system of rack-renting and tenantcy at will, we can not undertake to show in this place. It is sufficiently obvious, also, that the corn laws must disappear; there must be no feud raging between the commercial class and that by whose influence and example excesses are to be tempered, &c.

"The ascendancy of the commercial class in modern society and politics is inevitable, and, under due limitations, ought not to be regarded as an evil. Any counterbalancing power can henceforth exist only by the sufferance of the commercial class."—*Edinburgh Review, October*, 1840.

A letter from an operative of Paisley to the Lord Advocate of Scotland, September, 1840, has the following eloquent and instructive paragraphs:

"Low wages and want are the great demoralisers of the human race—and they must be fed and clothed before they can be either made moral men or good Christians. Fill a boat with philosophers, and send them adrift without provisions in the middle of the Atlantic, and in five days they will turn cannibals. When the enlightened and the educated, therefore, are readily reduced to such an appalling state, what condition will the morals and feelings of those be in who are in constant want, and, at the same time destitute of that elevation of mind induced by education? How wearying, how irritating, how destructive of everything that is beautiful and good, must be the continual pinching and stinting from day to day, to which so many thousands are necessarily subjected!

"And what must it be when these privations are endured in the midst of external plenty; when he, who is starving through want, sees the golden fields stretching around him in all the richness of profusion, yet knows that all-bountiful nature smiles for him in vain?

"My Lord: This is the condition of the people of Paisley at present, and it appears there is no help to be found. The country proprietors in the surrounding neighborhood will give no assistance, contending that the manufacturers should support those who are in want, because it was through the instrumentality of those who are now destitute that the masters were enriched; but these gentlemen forget the constant and harassing nature of the avocations of a manufacturer, of the many sleepless nights he has to live through, of bills protested, of bankruptcies among those he is in connexion with, of the fall in the price of his stock, and a mighty variety of other inquietudes.

While the landed proprietor feels none of this, but gets rich by the exertions of the manufacturer without participating the least in the trouble and anxiety to which the other is subjected, in the simple but emphatic language of Sir Walter Scott, he has nothing to do but 'sit on his ain louping-on stane, an' luik frae him' and see his land rise in value from 5s. to 65s. per acre of yearly rent."

OPPOSITION OF THE FARMERS.

Many of the farmers took up against the corn law, as an injury to them as well as to the manufacturers. At an agricultural meeting in Cornwall, Mr. Penhallow Peters said: "As to the corn laws, it was folly to talk about them. He had been the largest farmer in the county for the last forty-five years, and he always detested those laws (cheers)—they were all humbug (loud cheers)—a cheat from beginning to end, and afforded no protection whatever to the agriculturist" (great cheering).

Mr. Nattle said: "He could not omit the opportunity of stating to that meeting, very briefly, that, although he was one, perhaps, of the largest corn growers in the eastern district, having now in progress of growth upward of two hundred and thirty acres, he most fully agreed with the ministerial plan, viz: a fixed duty (great cheering); but that duty should be made payable the moment a cargo of foreign corn made its appearance in any of the ports of this kingdom (hear). It was no new light which had broken in upon his mind now that the opinion was so generally held, but eight years ago, he not only expressed that opinion, individually to his friends and neighbors, but had actually written to members of Parliament, declaring the present corn bill to be a complete failure, as far as protection to the farmers went, and

that, as far as he could see, it only tended to make fortunes for the jobbers and speculators in foreign corn, and to empoverish and bring to ruin the home grower" (great cheering).

In the examination before the parliamentary committee on impost duties, J. B. Smith, Esq., president of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, said:

"The effect of the continuance of the present protective system, I think, will be most injurious to the laboring classes. Our population is increasing at the rate of one thousand souls a day; and, unless we have the markets of the world open to us, it follows, as a matter of course, that the competition for labor must daily increase; and, as the competition for labor increases, the rate of wages will fall. Then the next effect will be upon capitalists; who, finding that capital can be employed much more profitably in other countries, will take their capital to those countries. Then the next effect will be upon the revenue of the country—diminishing the consumption of all taxable articles. And, finally, it will reach the landed interests themselves; who, instead of having a race of industrious and productive laborers to consume their produce, will have a race of paupers to support."

From the evidence of A. Johnston, Esq., an experienced cotton manufacturer of Glasgow:

"You are an agriculturist, as well as a manufacturer?

"Yes; as a land-owner, in the country, I should be very glad that no protective duty should exist at all; because, if no protective duties existed, there would be a general flow of commercial prosperity; a general increase in traffic and trade, so that capital would be circulated, and the country generally would be more prosperous than it is; the working man would be more comfortable than he is; and the product of the land would become more valuable than it is under a system of depression and restriction; while starvation, such as at present exists, could scarcely occur.

"In what way does the protective duty on grain check our intercourse with America?

"It limits our returns from America to raw material for manufacture; whereas, if we had no protective duties, we should import flour, wheat, and rice, for the wants of this country, and naturally we should increase our exports to America in return."

HON. AND REV. BAPTIST NOEL.

The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, a clergyman of great respectability and worth, makes the following statement, in a pamphlet issued by him in the summer of 1841, entitled, "A plea for the poor, showing how the proposed repeal of the existing corn laws will affect the interests of the working classes":

"Four hundred and thirteen thousand persons, added every year to the population of the kingdom, must be employed. Emigration cannot employ them, agriculture can not, and manufactures can. *With the corn laws, they must starve; emancipated from them, they will prosper. Cheap bread and a regular commerce with other countries, will feed the people, supply the exchequer, promote morality, lessen the chance of war, and injure no one.* In the name, then, of the unemployed poor, whose sufferings I have witnessed, on behalf of the depressed artisan, the ill-fed laborer, and the

starving Irish peasant, I entreat *every religious land-owner, clergyman,* or member of Parliament, who may honor these humble pages with a perusal, to reflect seriously, and to pause long, ere he uses his influence to prolong the existence of those laws which, in the actual condition of our country, must lead to such calamitous results.

"When our Redeemer preached the Gospel to the multitude who followed him, he also healed their diseases and supplied their wants. *Like him, his disciples should seize with joy the opportunity of affording a relief to the necessitous,* COMPARED WITH WHICH ALL THE CHARITABLE CONTRIBUTIONS OF ENGLAND ARE ABSOLUTELY INSIGNIFICANT. Myriads of the working classes, whose interests are especially at stake, have implored the Legislature not to vote them any public money, not to give them any unfair advantage over others, not to invade private property, but to break off the fetters which the law has laid upon their industry; to restore them their natural liberty to purchase bread in return for the produce of their labor; *to permit them to maintain their families by honest and laborious exertion.*

"For no fault of theirs they are suffering the pain of hunger, with all the physical and moral evils which accompany it. *God has provided for them corn,* not in their own crowded country, but in others less densely peopled. They have the ability to buy it by their labor, if the law forbids not; and the restoration of their natural right will invigorate every branch of British industry. Generously, therefore, *as becomes the disciple of Christ,* let every Christian reader overcome all party spirit, silence each ignorant prejudice, and, trampling on the suggestions of a short-sighted self-interest, *labor with every friend of his country to effect the extension of our trade,* which, while it improves the condition of the working classes, will open the prospect of unbounded prosperity to the whole nation."

OPINION OF DR. CHALMERS.

The eminent Dr. Chalmers, of Edinburgh, in a note to his work on Political Economy, gave his opinion most fully. He says:

"For the sake of its moral benefit, we know of no achievement more desirable than that of a free corn trade. There is not a more fertile topic of clamor and burning discontent all over the land, and, were it but effectually set at rest, we are aware of nothing which might serve more to sweeten the breath of British society." And again, after dwelling with eloquence and ingenuity on what may probably be the ultimate effect of the abolition of the corn laws on the interest of landlords, and on the industry and prosperity of the country, and showing that the loss of the land-owner is much exaggerated, he proceeds to say: "Yet, in the face of all this uncertainty, we feel no hesitation in affirming both the expediency and the rightness of a free trade in corn." When considering the probable effect on revenue, he says: "We should not object to a slight duty, such as five shillings a quarter on imported corn, to be remitted only in years of scarcity." And, finally, in winding up his remarks on the whole matter, he says: "That the real good, the comfort and prosperity of the people, the proper end of all legislation, is less dependant on material resources than on moral restraints and right principles."

To these diversified views of various other classes of men, your memorialist would add a copy of the annual commercial circular of a trading house in the corn trade, the head of which is extensively known as a zealous friend of absolute repeal of the corn laws, and a leader in the kindred enterprise of

effecting an equalization of the right of suffrage to the whole people of the realm. It shows at once the nature and operation of the facts which now enter into the calculations of men of business, intent on their own pursuits, and which, therefore, are equally worthy of the attention of statesmen, studying how to make the best laws for the government of empires.

COMMERCIAL CIRCULAR ON CORN.

"Birmingham, 2*d Month* 3*d*, 1841.

"We have delayed our annual circular later than usual, to enable us to furnish our statistical information complete to the end of the year. In adverting to the state of the corn trade during the past year, we have to notice a considerable reduction, considering the very superior quality of this year's growth, in the value of most kinds of grain, as compared with the corresponding period in 1840; the average prices of the kingdom being respectively as follows:

	Wheat.	Barley.	Beans.	Peas.	Rye.	Oats.
1st month, 1840 -	65*s.* 5*d.*	39*s.* 2*d.*	40*s.* 4*d.*	40*s.* 1*d.*	37*s.* 11*d.*	23*s.* 10*d.*
1st month, 1841 -	61*s.* 8*d.*	33*s.* 2*d.*	40*s.* 0*d.*	39*s.* 11*d.*	33*s.* 11*d.*	21*s.* 7*d.*

"A variety of circumstances have contributed to this result, especially as regards wheat. The estimated quantity of free wheat and flour, at the commencement of last year, was 550,000 quarters, and there was entered for home consumption during the year 2,463,013 quarters, making a total of 3,013,013 quarters. The stock at the end of 1840, is supposed not to have exceeded 450,000 quarters, leaving 2,563,013 quarters, as the quantity gone into consumption in addition to our own growth. The state of our monetary affairs, and the failure of one or two considerable speculators in grain, within the last few months, has, probably, caused more of the foreign wheat to be pressed on the market than would otherwise have been the case. The crop of 1840, there is reason to believe, proves to be more nearly an average one than, considering the very ungenial weather during part of last summer, might have been expected, especially in most of the eastern, midland, and western districts of the kingdom. Neither the stocks of free foreign wheat, or those in the hands of the farmers, however, make it probable that we shall have a low range of prices during the present year; but whether they may be at all equal to 1840, will, in a great degree, depend upon how far our absurd legislation, directly tending, as it most powerfully does, to deprive the laboring population of a profitable application of their industry, and consequently their means of a comfortable subsistence, may force them to the use of cheaper food, such as potatoes, &c., as a substitute for bread. Should the consumption of wheat still keep pace with the increase of our population, as it doubtless would under a system of free trade, we may expect a considerable advance before next harvest. There is one feature in the imports of wheat to which we alluded in our circular of last year, that we think has not been sufficiently considered by those who have turned their attention to our probable future demand for wheat from foreign countries. In the year 1833, the export of wheat and flour from Ireland reached its maximum, and amounted to 541,475 quarters of wheat, and 1,059,587 cwts. of flour. Since that period it has gradually and uniformly decreased, and last year amounted only to 92,990 quarters of wheat, and 280,700 cwts. of flour; while, during the same period, double that quantity was imported into Ireland from English or foreign ports. This is a gratifying indication of the

improving condition of the people of that part of the British empire, but it deprives England of two or three weeks consumption, while her population is increasing at a rate without any former parallel. It is obvious, therefore, that a very large annual supply of wheat will in future be required, unless the deficiency is met by the increased breadth of land sown with wheat, by the improvements in agriculture, by which a larger quantity per acre is produced, or by the increased poverty of the people, and the enhanced price checking the consumption. The extent of the operation of either of these causes upon our supply and demand, of course it is impossible correctly to estimate.

"The duties on foreign wheat have fluctuated during the last year from 2*s.* 8*d.*, per quarter, to 27*s.* 8*d.*, while the average duty paid on the whole that has been liberated for home consumption, is 7*s.* 2*d.* per quarter. It will be seen, from the annexed, that the price of wheat in some of the foreign ports, as compared with the corresponding period of the previous year, is very much reduced; this, however, has not yet led to much speculation, though a few purchases, chiefly on Irish account, for spring shipment, have been made. Our stocks of free wheat (mostly of secondary quality) in Gloucester, are 19,570 quarters; say 9,370 of Odessa and Bannat; 5,100 Lower Baltic; 1,800 Spanish; and 3,300 Dantzic; of bonded 5,055 quarters. Our present prices are, English red 7*s.* 6*d.* to 8*s.* 2*d.*; white 7*s.* 8*d.* to 8*s.* 4*d.* per 62 pounds, here. Dantzic 8*s.* 1½*d.* to 8*s.* 6*d.*; Spanish 7*s.* 10*d.* to 8*s.* 2*d.*; soft Odessa 7*s.* to 7*s.* 4½*d.*; hard 6*s.* 10½*d.* to 7*s.* 3*d.* per 60 lbs. at Gloucester.

"We remain, respectfully,

"JOSEPH & CHARLES STURGE."

Of the numerous tabular reports which accompany this circular, there are several so serviceable for the light they shed on the general subject of the corn laws, and the trade in grain, that your memorialist, although anxious not to encumber his representation with a single particle of irrelevant or exuberant matter, will take the liberty to include some of the most important of them.

TABLE XI.

An account of the corn, grain, and flour, imported into Great Britain in each year, from January 1, 1815, *to* 1840.

Year.	Imported from Ireland, quarters.	Imported from the British North American colonies, quarters.	Imported from all other parts, quarters.	Total imported, quarters.
1815 - -	821,192	25	333,041	1,154,258
1816 - -	873,865	3	319,203	1,193,071
1817 - -	699,809	25,877	1,775,353	2,501,039
1818 - -	1,207,851	56,618	3,474,051	4,738,520
1819 - -	967,861	14,257	1,693,255	2,675,373
1820 - -	1,417,120	40,897	1,300,953	2,758,970
1821 - -	1,822,816	40,916	216,738	2,080,470
1822 - -	1,063,089	23,439	102,365	1,188,893
1823 - -	1,528,153	209	53,432	1,581,794
1824 - -	1,634,024	891	609,147	2,244,062
1825 - -	2,203,962	95,059	962,718	3,261,739
1826 - -	1,693,391	30,500	2,218,830	3,942,721
1827 - -	2,830,314	61,035	2,550,310	5,441,659
1828 - -	2,826,988	21,600	1,272,396	4,120,984
1829 - -	2,307,817	7,335	2,680,414	4,995,566
1830 - -	2,215,549	79,634	2,355,412	4,650,595
1831 - -	2,466,721	225,240	3,316,760	6,008,721
1832 - -	3,026,541	129,476	668,422	3,824,439
1833 - -	2,700,375	147,745	336,524	3,154,644
1834 - -	2,740,098	66,829	492,071	3,294,998
1835 - -	2,655,799	25,016	296,189	2,977,004
1836 - -	2,847,800	18,561	625,032	3,491,349
1837 - -	2,938,519	10,060	1,306,870	4,264,449
1838 - -	3,150,852	19,479	1,515,250	4,685,581
1839 - -	1,916,043	17,438	4,573,660	6,507,142
1840 - -	2,030,067	178,828	3,811,694	6,020,589

TABLE XII.

Prices of grain in foreign ports, per quarter, in 1839 *and* 1840. *Mostly taken in December.*

	1839.—Wheat.						1840.—Wheat.					
	s.	*d.*		*s.*	*d.*		*s.*	*d.*		*s.*	*d.*	
Dantzic	44	0	to	50	0		33	0	to	35	0	
Dantzic high mixed	51	0	"	55	0		38	0	"	41	0	
Leghorn	42	0	"	54	6		27	0	"	42	0	
Rostock	47	0	"	49	0		34	0	"	36	0	
Trieste	39	4	"	44	0		34	0	"	39	0	
Riga	44	0	"	47	0		46	0	"	49	8	
Hamburg	41	0	"	54	0		34	0	"	37	6	
Petersburg	39	0	"	46	0		43	0	"	46	0	
Genoa	43	0	"	46	0		36	0	"	44	6	
Archangel	33	0	"	34	6		32	0	"	34	0	
Naples	37	6	"	44	6		32	0	"	34	6	
Konigsberg	45	0	"	54	0		34	0	"	40	0	
Bordeaux	50	0	"	58	0		45	0	"	49	9	
Marseilles	39	6	"	51	0		31	0	"	46	9	
Nantes	47	0	"	53	0		42	0	"	46	0	
Odessa	33	0	"	37	0		30	0	"	32	10	
Ancona	38	0	"	40	6		31	0	"	32	0	
Stettin	49	0	"	53	0		32	0	"	35	0	
Sydney	160	0	"	170	0		72	6	"	80	6	
Baltimore	37	0	"	41	0		32	0	"	34	0	
New York	40	0	"	41	0		34	9	"	36	0	
Philadelphia	38	0	"	40	0		32	0	"	35	0	
Montreal	48	0	"	52	6		36	0	"	49	0	
Paris	57	0	"	69	0		41	0	"	46	0	
Kiel	44	0	"	49	0		32	0	"	35	0	
Taganrog	25	0	"	33	0		28	0	"	29	0	
Santander	47	0	"	53	0		44	0	"	46	0	

ANTI CORN LAW MISSION OF MR. CURTIS.

The increasing interest which was now felt in the question of corn law repeal, giving it at once access to thousands of minds heretofore closed in indifference or prejudice, pointed out the time as a favorable one for putting in execution a plan that had long been contemplated—a free-trade mission from the grain-growing northwest to the people of Great Britain. Upon John Curtis, Esq., of Lake county, Ohio, devolved the responsibility of this novel embassy, and it is believed that a more suitable person could not well have been found. Being himself deeply imbued with the principles of his mission, by study familiar with the statistical facts, and by personal participation familiar with the character and prospects of the northwest, he went forth, under no patronage, either of the Government or of a titled society, but

with his object for his passport, and the information he had to communicate as his best letters of recommendation. He was everywhere respectfully received, and it is not in the knowledge of your memorialist that there was ever an objection raised against the propriety of his proceeding. It seemed to commend itself to the people as a suitable thing for one to come among them at such a time, and tell them what he knew about a country that was waiting to participate with them the advantages of a mutual trade on reasonable and equitable terms. Mr. Curtis went to England in the month of July, 1841. After spending eight months in Great Britain, during which time he lectured in many of the large towns, his private affairs required him to return home; but it is believed the fruits of his labors will continue to show themselves in future benefits to both countries.

Mr. Curtis addressed the people of England in a pamphlet, which obtained a wide circulation, entitled, "*America and the corn laws; showing the extensive supply of food which may be brought from America, and the effects of the restrictive system on the British and American trade.*" A few extracts from that pamphlet will show the nature of the considerations by which he was accustomed to appeal to the people of that country, in favor of a still more intimate identification of the interests of the two nations, as the only alternative of a further narrowing of commercial intercourse, with its long train of attendant evils. He first illustrates the peculiarly favorable situation of Britain for engrossing the trade between the two hemispheres, and the comparative importance already attained by the American trade:

"England does not owe her commercial supremacy to the enterprise and skill of her people more than to the advantages of her position. Situated on the western frontier of Europe, the British islands form the natural mart for the rising commerce between the old and the new world. All reflecting and impartial men must agree that England owes her commercial supremacy in a great measure to the discovery of America, and the western connexions of her trade. Nearly one half the commerce of England is now with America. To no country does she export so largely as to the United States. It is not, then, without reason, that commerce and empire, in abandoning the great eastern marts of ancient times in their course westward, have fixed themselves for the present on the westernmost islands of Europe. The new world is now just beginning to develop its immense resources. England must become the great mart of a trade based on the varied productiveness and wants of two hemispheres, unless, blind to her own welfare, she refuse the privilege. The future importance of this trade to England, and the share which the burdens and restrictions laid upon it have had in producing the decline of manufactures and trade, now so painfully obvious, has not received the attention from the British public which so important a subject deserves."

He then speaks of the present and prospective capacity of America to consume the products of British manufactures:

"It is well known that the increase of population is in a geometrical ratio. When, as in the States, this increase commences with a small number of people, its progress, however rapid, may excite little attention; but, when it has reached a certain point, it will, by the operation of the same law of increase, spread itself over countries and continents in an incredibly short space of time. The population of the United States has reached such point of progress. England and Ireland at present sustain three hundred persons to the square mile. At half this number to the square mile, which is about the present density of population in France and Germany, the United States will

support 300,000,000 of inhabitants. If any one doubt whether the limits of the United States can allow such an increase of the population, he will still find that there is no lack of room on their southern border. Who, that knows the condition of America and the character of the Anglo-Saxon race, can doubt that, before another century shall pass, that race will be in possession of the western hemisphere, from the Northern Ocean to Cape Horn? How will the comparatively feeble Spanish and Indian races be able to keep back the swelling wave of Anglo-Saxon population? South America and Mexico have a population but little, if any, larger than when discovered three hundred years ago.

"The two continents of America contain 15,000,000 square miles of land. Throw out one half of this as unfit for cultivation, and the remainder, at half the productive productive power of the lands of Great Britain, will support more than one thousand millions of inhabitants. The foreign trade of America, if left free, must increase in value with the increase of population for a century to come. American lands will still be cheap and abundant, and their surplus produce, increasing with the increase of their population, will continue to seek a market abroad as anxiously as ever. Previous to the British corn law and the last American war, the trade between Great Britain and the United States was comparatively free. The average annual consumption of foreign goods in the United States, for twenty-two years prior to 1812, was two pounds sterling per head for the whole population of the country; and nearly one half of this was a consumption of British goods. At the same rate of consumption, the population of the United States at the close of a century would maintain a foreign trade of £600,000,000.

"The great want of England is unquestionably a market where she can exchange her goods on reasonable terms for food. But, as agricultural productions are chiefly of a bulky nature, and will not bear a long land transportation, of course the English manufacturer, in looking abroad for a supply of food and a corresponding market for his goods, can expect to find it only in parts contiguous to the sea, or to such inland communications as furnish easy chanels for commerce. This is to him a matter of the utmost importance. Probably no country is as well fitted in this respect to become the granary of the world as the United States."

This capacity to consume goods is then compared with the capacity to produce food to give in exchange. After a variety of tabular statements, similar to many that will be found in other parts of this memorial, he thus reasons the point:

"Of course, it is impossible accurately to estimate the productive powers of any country before they are fully put to the test. But when we consider that, in all this territory, there is neither mountain, moorland, nor barren, and few swamps, marshes, or rocks, to impede cultivation, that its climate is temperate, and its harvests have never yet been cut off by either wetness or drought, it must be admitted that its power of producing a surplus for foreign trade is immense. As every man owns his farm in fee-simple, unencumbered by tithes, high taxes, or poor rates, its whole produce belongs to the cultivator alone, and his industry is thereby stimulated to the highest degree of production. The intelligence of the people is not slow to adopt the most improved modes of cultivation; so that here we may expect to find the highest ratio of production,—that which arises from the agricultural skill of an old, applied to the fertile soils of a new country.

"The fact that property and profits are more equally distributed than in any other country, and that every man aims at acquiring the highest degree of independence and comfort for himself and family, afford an assurance not only of an immense production of staple agricultural commodities, beyond the wants of the people, but a certainty that their powers will be exerted to the utmost, if a commensurate market is afforded them.

"Their industry, stimulated by the wants of a civilized and rapidly-progressing society, of itself insures a demand for all the manufactured goods, wares, and merchandise, which *their agricultural produce can pay for* The consumption of manufactures among such a people has no limit but their ability to purchase; and, were a free trade with Great Britain given them, an immense exchange of products would instantly take place, to the unspeakably great advantage of both countries. Could a steady market, at remunerating prices, be calculated upon, the influx of emigration to these States would be vastly increased. The face of the country being, to a great extent, an open fertile plain, there would be little delay in enlarging the supply to meet any possible demand in the British market. Practical men in that country calculate that the amount produced might, for some time to come, be doubled every three years."

It will easily be seen that such suggestions as the following, with regard to the amount of immediate supply, and the stability of future abundance, could not but have weight with an intelligent English audience, representing, in part, the distressed manufacturers, the embarrassed merchants, and the starving operatives:

"It is, of course, impossible accurately to estimate the amount of surplus provisions now in the United States. The following calculation respecting wheat approximates the truth: In 1839, the harvest of previous years had been mostly exhausted. It is the crop of that year which is given in the census table above as 9,500,000 quarters. The exports of that crop were 1,250,000 quarters. The harvest of 1840 was at least one third greater than that of 1839, and that of 1841 is considered as nearly the same with that of the previous year. The exports of the harvests of 1840 are estimated at 1,600,000 quarters, leaving a surplus now on hand of at least 5,800,000 quarters of the harvests of 1840 and 1841, which might be exported, being double the quantity ever imported into Great Britain in any one year. The State of Ohio alone exported a million quarters of wheat in 1840, and yet was not deemed, in the spring of 1841, to have disposed of half her surplus. Michigan first commenced exporting in 1839. The estimated surplus of that State for the present year is 312,000 quarters of wheat and 300,000 barrels of pork, which is considerably more than the whole produce of the State in the former year.

"The great advantages which these northwestern States possess for the production of food will cause the price of provisions in other parts of the Union to be governed by the western price, and the difference of transportation to a common market. The conveyance of agricultural produce to the seaboard will constitute an important item in its cost at the American ports; but, not being subject to fluctuation, or apparently capable of great reduction, it will have a great effect in steadying the price of grain furnished through this channel. The price of grain is always much more steady in a market where the expense of transportation forms a large component part of the regular cost. And, when drawn from so great a distance as the interior of Amer-

ica, the danger of short supply from partial failure of crops is also lessened, not only from variations of climate, but because each year's supply will consist in part of two or more harvests."

That Mr. Curtis, as a private citizen, could accomplish much which no Government agent could have done, is, perhaps, not a sufficient reason why our Government, in its sphere, should do nothing in regard to so great an interest.

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE FOR REPEAL.

About this time, a general effort was made to enlist the sympathies and the influence of religion in favor of the repeal of the corn laws; and the result was most impressive and encouraging. The "Circular" newspaper of the "League" had for its motto the following impressive passages of scripture:

"And God said, Behold I have given you *every* herb bearing seed which is upon the face of ALL THE EARTH, and *every tree* in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; *to you it shall be for meat.*"—Gen. i, 29.

"The *bread of the needy* is his life; he that defraudeth him thereof is a man of blood."—Eccles. xxxiv, 21.

"The heaven, even the heavens, are the Lord's; *but the earth hath he given to the children of men.*"—Ps. cxv, 16.

"Moreover, the profit of the earth is for ALL; the king himself is served by the field."—Eccl. v, 9.

"They cause him to go naked without clothing, and they take away the *sheaf* from the hungry."—Job xxiv, 10.

"He that withholdeth *corn*, the people shall curse him."—Prov. xi, 26.

The influence and co-operation of the ministers of religion, of various denominations, were sought and obtained. One of the first who came forward in the cause, was the Rev. Daniel Hearne, of the Roman Catholic Church. At a great anti corn law tea party in Manchester, May 20, 1841, where about 800 persons were present, J. B. Smith, Esq., in the chair—

"The Rev. Daniel Hearne, having been introduced and received with loud cheers, said he found himself placed in a novel situation. He was not aware that he would be called on to speak; but the cause in which the League was embarked was so good, that he gladly availed himself of the opportunity of lending them his aid. He could not treat the commercial view of the question; but he could tell them of the awful misery which, in the prosecution of his duty in ministering to the sick of his congregation, he was in the daily habit of witnessing. There were 20,000 people in his congregation, within half a mile of his chapel, in St. George's road; and ever since 1838, he could safely say that famine had been continually raging among them. He detailed several affecting cases, which moved many present to tears. Of the sick to whom he and his brethren were called to minister the last consolations of religion, one half, he believed, died of lingering starvation. 'Better,' said he, 'to die by the sword.' They had no need to impose penances on the wretched people of their church; they were suffering enough already. The Duke of Buckingham, instead of defending the bread tax, ought, if he had two chariots, to part with one of them. The oppressions of the rich drew blasphemy and cursing from the mouths of the poor. Our philanthropists had been long enough looking after the black slaves. He saw more misery in Manchester than was to be found among the black

slaves. The reverend gentleman concluded by some remarks on the desire of his people to obtain education, and pointed to their Sunday schools in evidence; but he said their extreme poverty had rendered them unable to obtain it. It was an old proverb, 'Better half a loaf than no bread;' he would say, 'Better two loaves than one.' It would be time enough for the working men to settle the question of wages when they had got the two loaves." (Loud cheers.)

No less than *ninety* dissenting ministers in Glasgow and the neighborhood, signed the following petition against the bread-tax:

"That, although they heartily coincide with their fellow-subjects in reprobating the corn laws from their ruinous effects on the industry and prosperity of the British people, they feel persuaded that the chief aspect in which it becomes them, as Christians and as Christian ministers, to regard these impositions, is their flagrant wickedness in the sight of Almighty God, to whose Holy Word they are opposed, with the benevolent arrangements of whose Providence they are at war, and whose just displeasure, if persisted in, they can not fail to draw down.

"That your petitioners beseech your honorable House to reflect whether, in the sight of a just God, the Legislature can have the right to prevent the poor from obtaining bread at the cheapest market to which they have access; whether it is righteous to tax the poor and working classes in the midst of privation and suffering, to the extent of millions annually, by an artificial dearth of the necessaries of life; whether they are prepared to answer to the Judge of all for the straits and suffering, as well as the perplexity and discontent, and other evils, moral as well as physical, which these laws unavoidably generate.

"That your petitioners beg leave to assure your honorable House, that, in these views, they are joined by the great body of Christian ministers and private church members who are known to them, with the exception of those who are directly interested, or who suppose themselves interested, in the preservation of those restrictive statutes; and that on no subject have the virtue and piety of the country been more united in raising their solemn and decisive protestation."

The most impressive appeals were made to the public conscience, against the inhumanity of the corn laws, as the cause of human misery and death. The following, as an example, is worthy of particular notice:

MURDER.

"They that be slain with the sword are better than they that be slain with hunger; for these pine away, stricken through for want of the fruits of the field."—LAMENTATIONS iv, 9.

"If it were known that the inmates of the Manchester prison were, by a barbarous law, once a year consigned indiscriminately to the hands of the executioner, there would be an indignant uprising of our philanthropists, sufficient to bear down instantaneously, with their moral power, the upholders of such a sanguinary statute. How is it, that, while a law exists which subjects an infinitely great number of *innocent* victims to a lingering death by famine, there is no such simultaneous movement on the part of the benevolent public? We would fain plead *ignorance* of the effects of the corn law in extenuation of the apathy of our fellow-countrymen. But how long will this plea be allowed by Him who has endowed them, not merely with the feelings, but the reasoning intelligence of accountable creatures? Will they,

when their day of final trial comes, point to the stately edifices for formal worship, erected at their cost, or to their prayers and preachings, and professions of faith, for their justification? Alas! such pleas will be of no avail before that dread tribunal, where we are expressly told that mankind will be judged—not by their prophesyings or casting out of devils, but where they alone shall be accepted to whom shall be said, 'I was a hungered, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me, for inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me.' Vain, too, will be then, the plea, that these afflicted and helpless victims were hidden from the everyday gaze of their more fortunate neighbors; that they were not passed by on the other side when sinking with hunger in the public thoroughfares, or repulsed from the rich man's house, to die at his gate. We know, from the testimony of their spiritual comforters, who visit their miserable haunts, that famine is at work, gnawing the vitals of thousands of our brethren, within a few minutes' walk of our own doors. We know, too, from the evidence of medical men, that disease and pestilence are ever busy where hunger has laid prostrate the physical powers. Hear what Mr. Roberton, our eminent practitioner, says, in his letter upon the health of towns, addressed, last year, to a committee of the House of Commons:

"'So long as this and other great manufacturing towns were multiplying and extending their branches of manufacture and were prosperous, every fresh addition of operatives found employment, good wages, and plenty of food; and so long as the families of working people are well fed, it is certain they maintain their health in a surprising manner, even in cellars and other close dwellings. Now, however, the case is different. Food is dear, labor scarce, and wages in many branches very low; consequently, as might be expected, disease and death are making unusual havoc. In the years 1833, '34, '35, and '36 (years of prosperity), the number of fever cases admitted into the Manchester house of recovery amounted to only 1,685, or 421 per annum, while in the two succeeding years, 1838 and '39, the number admitted was 2,414, or 1,207 per annum. It is in such a depressed state of the manufacturing districts as at present exists, that unpaved and badly-sewered streets, narrow alleys, close unventilated courts and cellars, exhibit their malign influence in augmenting the sufferings which that greatest of all physical evils, want of sufficient food, inflicts on young and old in large towns, but especially on the young.'

"We do know the existence of these evils, but what are we doing to assuage them? We shall be told that the sources of private charity must soon be exhausted in the attempt to relieve the suffering multitude that surround us. Let our united efforts be used, say we, to obtain *justice* for the laboring poor at the hands of the legislature; this is the only effective way of exercising our benevolence. Abolish the law which denies to them the right of exchanging the fruits of their hard labor for the food which is to be found upon the face of all the earth, and the industrious men and women of this country will scorn to subsist upon the alms of charity. The corn law is the wholesale cause of the starvation and disease which are ravaging the humble dwellings of our poorer brethren. They who uphold that law are virtually the murderers of their fellow-creatures. The riches of those who profit by it are stained with the blood of human victims, and they who look coldly on, and neglect the means in their power to abolish the law, are equally the accomplices in the guilt of murder."

But the leading measure of this class which distinguished the year 1841 was the general conference of ministers held at Manchester on the 17th of August. This was an assembly quite unique in its character. Although the invitation was sent out only five weeks before the time of meeting, yet so prepared was the public mind for an extraordinary movement, that six hundred and fifty ministers, of all the different denominations, actually met in convention, and spent four days in discussion and consultation on the moral and humane bearings of the restrictive system. Letters approving of the convention were received from upward of eight hundred more. Some came two and three hundred, and some nearly five hundred miles, at their own expense. Independents, Baptists, Catholics, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Methodists, Quakers, acted together in the utmost love and harmony. The editor of the London Patriot says of the meeting: "Brought together on so short a notice, and composed of materials unlimited in variety, this conference affords a surprising spectacle of combined intelligence and harmonious deliberation, and the admirable spirit in which their labors have been accomplished will produce a great moral effect." The English correspondent of the Boston Christian Watchman says: "Among the working-men the sensation produced was remarkable; all looked upon the members as so many angels from Heaven sent for their deliverance. The moral effect of the movement upon the minds of the poor will be highly beneficial. Nearly a hundred of the ministers made brief statements of facts from personal experience, which drew tears from every eye. The conference plainly declared that, in their deliberate judgment, the corn laws are *incompatible with morality and religion;* that without their repeal the people cannot live, nor the public peace be maintained, and that they, *as ministers of religion*, shall feel it to be their duty to insist until a FREE TRADE IN CORN has received the sanction of the legislature. Once let the religious public be fairly roused, and no prudent Government will fail to yield to their just and reasonable demands. I confess that I look forward to the repeal of the obnoxious corn laws, at no distant period, as an event which shall bind England and America by a chain of mutual interest which nothing earthly will be able to dissolve."

The conclusions of the conference will be seen in the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

RESOLUTIONS.

"That, influenced at once by feelings of sympathy for the suffering poor, with whom their official duties bring them into daily contact, and, by a deep interest in the success of the religion whereof they are ministers, this conference feels itself only acting from a strong sense of duty in examining into the causes of the existing distress, and even the example of our Savior himself, in employing his utmost influence to alleviate or improve it.

"That, believing that the laws of Almighty God, as revealed in his word, ought to be the laws of human action, and that any deviation from them, either in individual conduct or in the affairs of nations, must excite his displeasure; and believing that the monopoly of bread is anti Christian in principle, this conference will seek the removal of the provision laws, and more especially deprecates their continuance as a great national offence against that Being by whom kings reign and princes decree justice.

"That, in the judgment of this conference, the prevailing distress pain-

fully tends to arrest the progress of education, to prevent the exercise of domestic and social affections, to induce reckless and immoral habits, to prevent attendance on religious worship, and harden the heart against religious impressions.

"That, influenced at once by feelings of sympathy for the suffering poor, with whom their official duties bring them into daily contact, and by a deep interest in the success of that religion whereof they are ministers, this conference feels itself only acting from a strong sense of duty in examining into the causes of the existing distress, and after the example of the Savior himself, in employing its utmost influence to alleviate or remove it.

"That, in the face of the facts which have come under their notice in their own respective neighborhoods, no less than by statements laid before them, the ministers composing this conference can not avoid the painful conviction that much of the wide-spread distress of the present time is attributable to the provision laws, inasmuch as they limit the supply, and thereby enhancing the cost of the common necessaries of life, fetter industry, repress enterprise, divert the legitimate employment of capital, and spread discontent and heart-burning through the land.

"That the laws which restrict the importation of the prime necessaries of life, are, in the judgment of this conference, essentially and manifestly unjust, and operate with peculiar hardship on the operative classes, by at once depriving them of a market for the disposal of the fruits of their labor, and raising the price of food when they are least able to procure it."

The character and tone of the discussions, and the spirit, at once firm and moderate, which pervaded the conference, will be gathered from a few extracts of the reported debates.

The Rev. J. Adkins, of Southampton, in taking the chair, on the first day, vindicated the conference from the charge that they were acting out of the line of their duty as Christian ministers. "I have yet to learn," said he, "that that Christianity, which was adapted, not only to man's mental and moral, but to his social condition, does violence to the exercise or extinguishes the intensity of that great social principle by which the hearts men are linked together throughout the whole human race." He described the distress of the peasantry and artisans, and asked why it was so.

"On the other side of the water is a land in which, either from the paucity of its population, or the fertility of its soil, there is bread enough and to spare. There they have the *pabulum* of life, sufficient to repay the labor of industry, and to supply the wants of necessity. Yes, gentlemen, for while I would use caution, I will not indulge in cowardice (applause); yes, gentlemen, and your starving population is willing to purchase that *pabulum* of life, not, indeed, with wealth, for, like the poor disciples of a poorer master, they shake their tattered garments, and say, 'Silver and gold we have none;' but they are willing to purchase food with the well-strained sinews of nervous industry (cheers)—with the sweat of their honest brows. (Hear.) And why can not they purchase that? Why is there not the promotion of that simple, but no less effectual arrangement, in the economy of the universe, by which the various productions of one country may be reciprocated with advantage, by communications made from another? Why is this machinery, so simple in its construction, but so multifarious and withal so benign in its results, why is it retarded? Pardon me, if I say it is because we see, or think we see, a busy bungling hand, a cruel and clumsy hand, put on this

delicate machinery, to retard its movements, and to frustrate its purposes. (Cheers.) We believe this, men, brethren, and fathers, or our convention here this day is but a nullity and a farce."

The venerable and Rev. Dr. Pye Smith then delivered an address replete with the deepest religious sympathy for the suffering poor, and evincing a knowledge of the subject to be discussed, which proved that he, at least, had not been an idle or unobservant spectator of the body and soul destroying effects of the food monopoly. In answering the objection, that it was not befitting in ministers of the Gospel to give advice on politics, he asked, "What are politics, but the knowledge and practice of the claims of right, and the obligations of duty, which belong to men as members of society? Is not this knowledge and practice an essential part of morality? And is there, can there be, any religion without morality? As teachers of religion, therefore, we are bound to be teachers of politics, and to guard the important subject against errors and abuses. Our object is to teach the politics which flow from piety, the politics of equitable benevolence, the politics of the gospel, the politics of Jesus Christ, our Saviour and Lord." He drew a fearful picture of the probable consequences of a continuance of our present suicidal policy, and concluded in the following earnest and impressive terms: "Our warm desire is to see realized the beautiful passage of the book of Job, 'So the poor hath hope, and iniquity stoppeth her mouth.'"

The Rev. J. E. Giles, of Leeds, observed, "With regard to the objection that we must not depend on other nations, we are at present depending on America for cotton, and he asked what would become of the population of Lancashire if cotton could not be procured? The seller was always more dependant on his customer than the buyer on the seller; but, by making the dependance of nations mutual, war would be rendered an impossibility; it was the best peacemaker; and he looked on this meeting as a great peace society."

The Rev. Thomas Spencer, of Bath, Episcopalian, said that for a minister, and for every other man, "pure religion before God and the Father, is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in affliction, and keep himself unspotted from the world." There were, as had been shown, plenty of opportunities for visiting the afflicted in Manchester, but what should we say of a man who should so interpret Scripture as to be satisfied with merely walking into the rooms of the necessitous, and after visiting them, never take any steps to relieve them? And if it is right to relieve one fatherless person, and one widow, it is right to relieve twenty fatherless and widows; but how much more beautiful must it be, if, by any act of ours, we could relieve a million fatherless children and widows at once! He hoped this would be duly considered by the lords spiritual, who did not think it too secular to attend to politics in the House of Lords, though they thought it very secular to meet on the corn laws.

He also referred to her Majesty, and rejoiced in her recent elevation of the honorable and Rev. Baptist Noel to the dignity of one of her majesty's chaplains, immediately consequent upon his publication of a pamphlet against the corn laws. (Immense and long-continued applause.)

The Rev. Dr. Ritchie, of Edinburg, Presbyterian, wished to do away with the lines of demarcation between nations, and to realize that God has made all men of one blood. He called on all present, when they returned to their homes, to proclaim that the God of nature had condemned the corn

laws. He entreated them never to think of any compromise, but to lay the axe to the root of the tree.

The Rev. J. E. Good, of Gosport, Congregationalist, said he was authorized by Admiral Bouverie, governor of the dock-yard at Portsmouth, to express his most entire and cordial sympathy with the object of this conference, and he believed it could not fail to produce impressions that would end in the repeal of the accursed system of a tax upon bread. He had also to state the sympathies of Sir George Staunton, the member for Gosport; of the Catholic priest of Gosport, of the Wesleyan ministers of Gosport, and of a farmer—*a rara avis in terra*—who gave him a sort of diagram showing the price of corn in this country, Berlin, &c., and said, "Tell the conference, though I am a farmer, I would give £1,000 myself if I could repeal the corn laws."

The Rev. B. Parsons, of Stroudwater, Gloucestershire, said that wages had fallen off one half since the corn laws. Many of the laborers were in the deepest distress, and these, too, were men who were tetotallers, and, therefore, it could not be laid to their charge that improvidence had anything to do with their condition. One of his congregation told him on Saturday evening last, that he went to visit a family in his neighborhood, and he found them without fire, without bread, and without a penny to purchase even soap to clean themselves to go to the house of God on the Sunday. There were also in his neighborhood a great number destitute of clothes. He had missed them at the Sabbath morning worship; but they could wrap themselves up in the evening and come out under cover of darkness, when they were ashamed to come out in daylight. There were those who said that it was being political to take part in a conference like this; but he told them there was this difference between them and some others he could mention—that *while they were politically religious, those who came to the conference were only religiously political.*

The Rev. F. A. Cox, D. D., LL. D., of Hackney, Baptist, said a great moral revolution was at hand. At present there was a gulf between the higher classes and the people, prejudice and petty interest had kept them asunder for ages; it was the object of the conference to link them together by common sympathies. (At this moment the Earl of Ducie entered and took his seat.) He hesitated not to say, and he said it in the presence of one of the most illustrious of our aristocracy, that this *moral* revolution had begun, and it was encumbent upon the ministers of religion, who had the confidence of the people, to help it forward, and to direct its course. With the help of the Most High, he looked forward to the period when their endeavors should be crowned with victory, and when Britain's queen, not coming from afar like the queen of Sheba, but going forth through the length and breadth of her own blessed isle, should contemplate a glory far greater than that of Solomon—a land of plenty, every cottage filled with joy, gratitude in every poor man's heart, and a cheap loaf in every poor man's hand.

The Earl of Ducie expressed the high pleasure he had felt in attending the conference during the week. He observed, that, though he came to Manchester fully impressed with the political and physical evils of the corn laws, he had no conception, till he met with the most interesting men he ever saw, of their baneful influence on morality and religion. Said he, "I have for many years been of opinion that the corn laws, as they exist, are extremely

oppressive to the laboring population, and injurious to every branch of society. Had I been a monopolist—had I been one of those who had voted for charging an additional price on the bread of the poor man, I am quite sure that the testimony laid before you to-day by the reverend gentlemen who have spoken, would have been enough to persuade me that I had been in the wrong. (Applause.) It would have been enough to persuade me that I should retract those opinions. (Hear, hear.) But my opinions have been always those good old-fashioned opinions (laughter and applause)—that that government was the best which gave the greatest amount of happiness to the greatest number of its subjects."

The committee of the Anti Corn Law League expressed their satisfaction in the proceedings of the conference, in an address, in which they say:

"The religious world will regard the acts of your conference as a noble illustration of the true spirit of a Christian ministry, whose benign influence can never be more consistently exerted than when vindicating the cause of the poor and destitute.

"We highly appreciate the minute and startling array of evidence brought by you, from all parts of the empire, and proving, on such unimpeachable testimony, the physical and moral degradation of great numbers of the people, as well in the agricultural as in the manufacturing counties. You have thus made it manifest that, during the long continuance of extreme scarcity and dearness of provisions, consequent upon unwise and unjust legislation, the condition of the laboring classes has rapidly deteriorated, that the demand for labor has declined, that wages (notwithstanding the assertion of the monopolists to the contrary) have materially decreased, and that, from these causes, multitudes of our industrious fellow-countrymen have been cruelly and needlessly subjected to all the evils of misery, disease, and premature death."

A delegation of working men, from the Operative Anti Corn Law Association, presented an address of thanks and approbation; in which they say:

"We have no occasion to prove to you, that the unrighteous corn and provision laws produce an incalculable amount of distress among the working classes, and that at present the baneful influence of those laws is acutely felt throughout the whole country. Suffice it to assure you, that the working classes know full well from what source their sufferings proceed, and are resolutely determined to do all in their power, by moral and peaceful means, to produce a radical change in the present wicked and cruel system. Such a change can not, in their opinion, be effected, without a total and immediate annihilation of the monopoly of food.

"By your timely assistance, you have invigorated our hopes of a speedy improvement in the state of our affairs; you have shown, that you hold in just contempt the sneers and opposition of those who appear to rest satisfied with promulgating the precepts, without enforcing obedience to or denouncing the violation of, that Christian charity which forms the practice of the real disciple of Jesus. You have caused thousands, who could only see a reinstatement of their prosperity through the bloody vista of revolution, to stay their unhallowed thoughts, and to withhold their hands from violence. Your reward hereafter will be great. Here you will receive, at least, all that the people have to offer—the heartfelt thanks and sincere prayers of millions who rejoice in your aid; among whom the members of the

Manchester Operative Association desire to be considered not the least sincere."

It would swell this memorial too much to incorporate in it all the documents adopted by the conference, but the address to the Queen is a composition so appropriate, so beautifully expressed, and so touching, that it is hoped the space it occupies will not appear to be misapplied.

The Rev. J. Acworth, of Horton College, Bradford, moved the adoption of the following address to her majesty:

"To Her Most Gracious Majesty:

"May it please your Majesty, we, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal suojects, being Christian ministers of various denominations, and from different parts of the United Kingdom, assembled in Manchester the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th days of August, 1841, to consider the laws restricting the food of the kingdom, beg permission to approach your Majesty with an expression of our sentiments in relation to the momentous subject which has thus brought us together.

"In craving this indulgence we beseech your Majesty to believe that we are influenced by an affectionate veneration for the person and an ardent attachment to the throne of your Majesty, as well as by a deep, heartfelt interest in the subject itself.

"Our unceasing prayer to the Supreme Ruler is, that he will continue to smile on your Majesty, your august Consort, and your illustrious offspring, preserving your Majesty in the uninterrupted enjoyment of health, surrounding you with all the endearments of domestic life, and after rendering you, through a long course of years, a blessing to your people, giving you in the realms of Eternal Glory a crown that fadeth not away.

"Brought by our professional avocations into daily intercourse with the more numerous classes of our fellow-subjects, it is, as it has for some time past been, our painful lot to witness scenes of wide-spread, heart-rending, and ever-deepening distress, arising mainly—as, alas! is too obvious—from a want of adequate employ, and a consequent destitution to a very great extent of the common necessaries of life.

"In endeavoring to ascertain the cause of this most deplorable state of things, we beg to assure your Majesty that, after patient and dispassionate investigation, we have been constrained to admit the conviction, that it is to be found primarily and chiefly in those laws which, by unrighteously interfering with the arrangements of our beneficent Creator, produce an artificial scarcity of food, impose shackles on trade and commerce, cramp the efforts of industry, and, even where they seem to benefit, occasion only a delusive advantage.

"Encouraged by the parental solicitude which your Majesty has uniformly manifested for the well-being of your subjects, we humbly, yet most earnestly solicit your Majesty's gracious interposition on this behalf, so far as it can be constitutionally rendered; assured that nothing more becomes the dignity or answers to the office of Prince and Potentates, than an imitation of the Sovereign Ruler, 'who is good to all,' and whose tender mercies are over all his works."

The conference also issued an admirable address to the people of the nation, which, for clearness of statement and cogency of reasoning, well-merits attention:

" *To the People of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.*

" FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN: An assembly of Christian Ministers, unprecedented in its numbers, and embracing almost every denomination, yet united as one by the object which has brought us together, we proceed, in the discharge of our duty, to lay before you the result of our deliberations.

" Suffer us to claim for our present very brief address, the calm and earnest attention which the importance and solemnity of the subject demand.

" We were convened for the purpose of considering the laws restricting the food of the community.

" We have endeavored to approach this subject with minds uninfluenced by party feeling or sectional interests, and to try all questions submitted to us by the unerring standard of Christian morality.

" Our attention has, in the first place, been directed to the principle upon which the corn and provision laws of this country are based. The immediate effect of these laws is, to make the food of the people *dear*. It is demonstrable that this can be done only by rendering food *scarce*. From the *artificial* scarcity so created, the different classes of consumers escape in proportion to their wealth, the evil pressing with accumulating severity upon the humbler classes exactly in the degree of their inability to sustain the burden. These laws operate with continually aggravating force in consequence of the natural and progressive increase in the numbers of the people.

" The most painful evidence of the truth of this principle has been laid before us, from all parts of the kingdom, proving the poverty and privations of the working classes, whose general fortitude, under their augmenting wretchedness, has awakened our sympathy, and called for our present interference in their behalf. In addition to the existence of domestic suffering, often in the most distressing forms of misery and disease, proof of an *increased mortality* has been forced upon us, and we have had the appalling fact disclosed that famine is already doing its deadly work among the most destitute portions of the community.

" The *moral effects* of the corn and provision laws have occupied our serious consideration.

" It has been proved to us that the physical deterioration of multitudes of our countrymen has produced an alarming amount of demoralization. Under this aspect, these laws have appeared to us to require the most anxious attention of all who are concerned for the advancement of the spiritual and eternal interests of their fellow-creatures. As Christian ministers, prizing above all other considerations the interests of morality and religion, we have been unable to anticipate, without apprehension and dread, the growth and development of those passions which are stimulated and called into action by hunger and destitution.

" Fellow-countrymen! We have asked ourselves, if the calamities we have been called to contemplate, and the more dreadful consequences with which we are threatened, are to be regarded as the just judgment and visitation of the Almighty: and our unanimous answer is NO. We have sought instruction in the word and through the works of God, and have been taught by both, that a bountiful and unfailing provision has been made for the wants of every living creature. We stand forth, therefore, to assert and vindicate the Divine Wisdom and Beneficence; we charge existing misery and impending danger upon the selfish or ignorant inventions of man, which have frustrated the merciful designs of the Ruler of the Uni-

verse. The chastisements we are enduring are self-inflicted; our national distresses are the results of a departure, by human legislation, from the spirit and mandates of the Divine Law; and our strong conviction is, that our present deliverance and future safety are to be secured only by recognising and observing the righteous and clearly-revealed will of a beneficent Creator. Our duty, then, as ministers of religion, is plain. On scriptural grounds we are called upon to denounce all human restrictions upon the supply of food to the people, and to employ all appropriate means to place the fatherly provisions of God within the reach of his suffering and famishing children.

"In the attainment of this object, we affectionately call upon the Christian public to aid us by an instant, a combined, and a vigorous effort. The case is one of extreme urgency. The poor are daily perishing; and though we would commend the exercise of individual charity, we must declare our solemn conviction, that all assistance will prove ineffectual to the relief of prevailing wretchedness, urging the continuance of laws which impiously interfere with and limit the enjoyment of the *all-sufficient* bounties of Divine Providence.

"Our advice to our brethren and friends throughout the country, is, to investigate the subject now before them. Let every one, convinced of the justice and necessity of abolishing these laws, do all in his power, in the spirit of meekness and love, to enlighten and convince those who are around him. Under the responsibilities ot citizenship, let every opportunity be embraced of bringing the nature and effects of the corn and provision laws under the notice of the legislature. We would also earnestly exhort those who are suffering from the operation of these laws, to remain peaceable and loyal, and to co-operate in all Christian and constitutional efforts, to effect their extinction, relying with patience upon the sympathy of their friends and the blessings of the Most High.

"Finally, let unceasing supplication ascend, that it may please the God and Father of us all to give our law-makers the wisdom that is profitable to direct, to incline their hearts 'to do justice and love mercy.'"

UNEXPECTED MOVEMENT OF THE WHIG MINISTRY.

While affairs were thus converging toward a crisis, an impulse was suddenly imparted to the anti corn law movement, from an unexpected and powerful quarter. The whig ministry, embarrassed by the decline of the revenue, and finding themselves defeated in some of their measures of legislation for Ireland, threw themselves at once, as a last resort, upon the free trade party for support, proposing as a leading expedient, the substitution of a revenue impost for a protective one on corn, by adopting a fixed duty instead of the sliding scale. On the 30th of April, 1841, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in bringing forward his annual "budget," announced that there was a deficiency in the revenue amounting to £2,400,000, and that the only alternative was a modification of the colonial system and the corn laws, or a resort to additional direct taxes. He adverted to the general condition of trade, to the German Customs Union, to the approaching revisal of the American tariff, the expiration of the treaty with Brazil, and said a crisis had arrived to determine the future policy and prosperity of the country. It was proposed to impose a duty of 8*s.* per quarter on wheat, with a proportionate duty on other grain, with a change of the duties affecting the colonies,

from a prohibiting to a protective and revenue scale. And on this issue, the ministry proposed to stake their claim to continued support.

The other party, however, declined this restricted issue, and Sir Robert Peel immediately raised a more general one, by moving a resolution that the ministry no longer enjoyed the confidence of the country. This allowed all the causes of discontent to combine in the opposition, and thus gained a majority in the House of Commons, leaving to the Melbourne ministry no alternative but to resign, or to appeal to the people, by ordering a new election of Parliament. They chose the latter, and the whole country at once rang with the excitement of an election. The corn law question was a leading, but not the exclusive question. As in Parliament, so at the polls, all the causes of discontent against the ministry operated, either to strengthen their opponents, or to deprive them of the full support of the liberal party. It is believed, also, that immense sums of money were expended by the conservatives, and every expedient of political warfare was resorted to. The chartists, and other friends of equal suffrage, were seen lending their aid to the advocates of exclusiveness. The reluctance expressed by many of the whigs to extend reform beyond its present bounds, or the doctrine of *finality*, as it was termed, deprived them of a good deal of support. The result was, that the conservative party gained the victory, with a majority in the House of Commons of eighty votes. The proposed reform in the corn laws, and other amendments in favor of free trade, were therefore rejected by the new Parliament, the ministry resigned, and Sir Robert Peel came in at the head of a triumphant party, in favor of conservatism and the sliding scale.

Under all the circumstances of the case, it would be, as your memorialist believes, a very hasty conclusion, to receive this result as evidence of a settled and final determination of *the people* of England to maintain the existing system of corn laws. Beside the causes heretofore adverted to, which combined their influence against the ministry, the existing laws regulating the right of suffrage, deprived the election of all claim to be considered the will of the people at all, by the undue preponderance which it gives to the votes of the *dependant tenantry* of the landed interest, who could not vote otherwise than in favor of the bread tax, without displeasing those who had it in their power to deprive them of their farms. There being no ballot, every man's vote is open and recorded. It is stated that the registered electors in Great Britain and Ireland are 812,916, while the adult male population numbers 5,812,276; consequently, only every seventh man is a voter. But the distribution of political power renders the inequality still more flagrant, a majority of the 658 members being returned by only 158,870 electors, having an average constituency of but 480. The votes of the boroughs are worthy of observation. The towns having 5,000 electors each, or upward, chose 18 liberals and 4 conservatives. Those having 1,500, or upward, chose 63 liberals to 20 conservatives. Those having from 1,000 to 1,500, chose 15 to 14. Those below 1,000, 39 in number, all chose conservatives, the whole having only 12,188 registered electors, while the single borough of Manchester has 12,150. Those only who believe that the *voice of the people* can be permanently stifled and resisted in England, will consider the result of the late election as conclusive of a final determination to uphold the corn laws.

It will be observed that the anti corn law associations did not approve of the eight shillings fixed duty, proposed by the whig ministry. A portion of them, indeed, were willing to take it as an instalment, believing it to be a step toward the desired result. Another portion favored it because it was the

beginning of a change, and they thought that another change would be easier, after the insufficiency of this had been fully tried. But a large body dissented entirely, and would take no part in favor of this partial change, thinking it better to let the old system go on until it had become so intolerable that the whole would be swept away together.

THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION.

The two parties in the electioneering canvass, debated the matter, almost exclusively, on the ground of protection to the landed interest, each contending that his scheme was the best *for that object*, and neither one proposing to reduce the price of bread to the poor.

Lord Palmerston, in his speech to the electors at Tiverton, during the canvass, thus urged his suit:

"I say, gentlemen, that our measure, instead of being an attack upon the agriculturists, is destined to preserve them from changes much to their disadvantage; for can any man who looks to this great country, who sees how large a portion of the people are employed in manufactories, who reflects for a moment that to live and bring up their families in comfort, they must find markets abroad; that they can not find those markets unless we take the produce of foreign countries—of those countries which grow nothing but corn—can any man who looks at these things, believe that the mass of the people will long submit to a law which, by excluding the corn of the United States, and other countries that grow corn, prevents our manufacturers selling the things they make? Can any man believe that such a law will be lasting, or that the people of England will not before long, call for, and compel, a change in this law? My opinion is, that if we do not change the law—if we do not make legal a system of national barter between our manufactures and the produce of other countries, the commerce of England will not only become stationary, but will go back, and you will have millions of your fellow-countrymen, who are now employed in the manufactures of England, thrown out of employment, and, instead of being, as they now are, good customers to the agricultural interests of England, they will be thrown upon the land for support—(hear, hear)—but not for support as now, by buying and consuming your produce, but they will be thrown upon the land as paupers, living upon the eleemosynary contributions of those farmers who are now told that the present law is essential to their existence. (Hear, hear.) Well then, gentlemen, in all human affairs, the great secret is to know when to make a bargain, for depend upon it that they who overstay their market, are sure to be the sufferers by the delay; and if the farmers of England—if the landowners of England, acting upon their absurd prejudices, choosing erroneously to reject what we propose—a fixed duty of 8*s.* per quarter; if they, thinking that a fixed duty of 8*s.* per quarter is a bad bargain—if they succeed in preventing it from being adopted, I venture to foretell them what will happen; here will arise in the manufacturing districts a feeling which the agriculturists will not be able to control; that feeling will carry its way through Parliament, and, instead of getting the fixed duty of 8*s.* per quarter, the result will probably be, either a much lower duty, or the abrogation of any duty whatever. I advise the farmers to remember what passed not many years ago in reference to the question of parliamentary reform. There was a time, in 1828, when the reforming party in the House of Commons would have been content, not hoping for anything more, with what had been proposed

with respect to East Retford—would have been content to have transferred the elective franchise from those boroughs convicted of bribery, to some of the large manufacturing towns in England; they would have been content with a very moderate enlargement of the elective franchise. (Hear, hear.) The tories refuse that; small as the concession was, it was too great for them to make. (Hear, hear.) What was the consequence? Why, the reform bill, which swept away all the rotten boroughs (a voice, 'Tiverton to wit'), which extinguished corporation after corporation, which extended the elective franchise to people in the towns and countries, and which gave to you that franchise you are about to exercise. (Cheers.) Well, then, gentlemen, I tell the farmers if, indeed, they have any interest, which I will prove to you they have not, I tell the agricultural interest—I tell the landowners not to follow the example of the anti-reformers of 1828, but to be wise and warned by the example of others—the cheapest experience that any man can have. I tell them to take the bargain which is now offered them, for they may be assured they may get something worse—they never will get any thing better." (Loud cheers.)

Sir Robert Peel, in his speech to the electors of Tamworth, said—

"I can not consent to substitute a fixed duty of 8s. for the present ascending and descending scale. I prefer the principle of the ascending and descending scale; and I do not consider, when I look at the burdens to which the land in this country is subject—I do not consider that a duty of 8s. per quarter upon corn brought here from Poland and the north of Europe—I do not consider that that duty will afford a sufficient protection to the landholders of this country. It certainly is a tempting theory to buy corn in the cheapest market; but before you determine that, it is just that you should ascertain what are the burdens to which the land in other countries is subject, and compare them with the burdens to which the land in this country is subjected. The land in this country is so burdened, and you can not conceal it. Look at the amount of the poor's rates, levied from the land, compared with the amount levied from the profits of manufacturers. Who pays the high-way rates? Who pays the church rates? Who pays the tithes? I say they are not paid altogether by the people, but chiefly by the land occupiers of the country; and if there be corn produced by other lands, not subject to these burdens, it clearly would not be just to the land occupiers of this country to admit that corn upon equal terms. (Hear, hear.) A duty of 8s. is proposed as a fixed invariable duty. Now, I foresee that, if you apply this duty, this will be the consequence: you will have abundance of foreign corn introduced, just at the time when you do not want it—when your own produce has been most abundant; but, when the time of scarcity shall arrive, when corn shall be at a famine price, then it will be impossible for you to levy the duty of 8s. per quarter on foreign corn. Gentlemen, what provision is to be made for that? If corn should rise to the price of 70s. or 80s. a quarter, would it, I ask, be possible to maintain this fixed duty? (Hear.) By whom is it to be taken off? By whom will it be paid? (Hear.) Mr. Ingle said in his address that he had read with attention every work published on the subject of the corn laws. Gentlemen, I have attempted to pursue the same course; and I have not confined my reading merely to pamphlets and speeches in favor of the corn laws, but I have also read with attention those which have been directed against the present system, by the advocates of a fixed, instead of a graduated duty. But I beg to remind you of what has been said by Mr. Ingle

upon this subject. He said that he farmed land to the amount of £1,200 a year, and that he produces three thousand bushels of corn. He is therefore a great, and, no doubt, a skilful practical agriculturist; his observation and his knowledge are not only derived from his skill and experience as an agriculturist, but he is also a learned man, who has read every pamphlet which has been written upon the subject. (Laughter and cheers.) What is it that Mr. Ingle tells you? Why, this gentleman, who has all the experience of an agriculturist, and all the learning of a man deeply versed in what has been written upon the subject, he says, if you substitute a fixed duty for the present graduated scale, that there will not be a diminution of one farthing in the price of corn. (No, no.) Take a series of years, and that is the fair way of taking it; make this experiment, so doubtful in its issue, and he, the great advocate of it, he who takes the most sanguine view, no doubt, of the effects of it, he tells you that, on a series of years, you would not have a reduction of a shilling a quarter—(voice, 'A shilling a bushel')—on the price of corn. ('Hear,' and cheers.) Then, gentlemen, what becomes of the cry of 'cheap bread?' How will the manufacturers of Nuneaton, whose distresses I deeply lament—but how can they hope for increased employment if this change in the corn laws is to produce no other effect than that expected by Mr. Ingle?"

THE WORKING OF THE SLIDING SCALE IN 1841.

Having given this view of the considerations on which the controversy turned in the summer of 1841, your memorialist now begs attention to the working of the sliding scale through the annual crisis of that year. The Anti Corn Law Circular for October gives the following illustration:

"*Another peep at the infernal machine.*—There is one point connected with the practical working of that perfection of human cruelty, the sliding scale, which we do not remember to have seen noticed. It is, that the duty slides after the price at a most respectful distance, giving ample time for starvation to do its work before the relief is allowed to operate.

"It is known that the price which regulates duty is the average of six weekly averages, and thus it generally, almost universally, indeed, happens (the highest prices occurring just before harvest) that the greatest mischief has been passed, and is in course of palliation by natural causes, before the minimum rate of duty is attained. But this is not all, for even the sixth weekly average, which is taken into calculation in fixing the duty, is a fortnight in advance of the period to which the duty applies. In the present year, the average which admitted foreign wheat at the duty of one shilling, was compounded of sales made and communicated to the inspectors during the six weeks between July 30 and September 10, but the low duty was received only during the week ending September 23. The history of these averages during that period, as recorded by the *London Gazette*, was as follows:

Week ending	Actual prices returned to the corn importers.	Prices for the same weeks that governed the duty.		Actual rate of duty.	Duty, if the same had been regulated by the actual price of wheat.
		Weekly average.	Six weeks average.		
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
July 23	66 3	64 3	63 1	23 8	20 8
30	68 3	64 11	63 6	23 8	16 8
Aug. 6	70 5	66 3	64 2	22 8	10 8
13	72 5	68 3	65 2	21 8	2 8
20	74 7	70 5	66 4	20 8	1 0
27	76 1	72 5	67 9	18 1	1 0
Sept. 3	74 1	74 7	69 6	13 8	1 0
10	71 2	76 1	71 4	6 8	6 8
17	64 8	74 1	72 8	2 8	22 8
24	63 4	71 2	73 2	1 0	23 8
Oct. 1	61 9	64 8	72 2	2 8	25 8

"We thus see, that although during the week ending 13th August the average price was within a penny a bushel of the price at which the bread taxers admit that the duty should be reduced to one shilling per quarter, the duty actually *chargeable* (nobody paid it) was 21*s.* 8*d.* For the following three weeks the price was beyond the admitted starvation rate, and yet the duty demanded was successively 20*s.* 8*d.*, 18*s.* 8*d.*, and 13*s.* 8*d.* (but nobody paid it), and it was not until four weeks *after* the price had got beyond the starvation point by 3*s.* 1*d.* per quarter, that the suffering people of England could obtain any relief under the sliding scale."

The London Sun of September 26 gave the following description of the commercial effect:

"*Swindling with the sliding scale.*—By the corn returns to the 10th of September, which, from this day till next Friday, govern the duty, the average price of the last six weeks is 73*s.* 2*d.*, and the duty, therefore, is now only 1*s.* per quarter. The average price of the week had fallen to 71*s.* 2*d.*, and most probably it will fall more next week, raising the duty again to 2*s.* 8*d.*, if not higher. The purpose of the speculators, however, is answered; the whole of the foreign wheat in bond, or which can be imported by next Friday, will be entered for consumption at the lowest possible duty. What quantity may come in can not be known. We have seen it estimated at upward of 1,200,000 quarters of wheat; but fresh vessels arrive continually, and before the 1*s.* duty is raised a great additional quantity will be imported. Such a sudden and forced importation of wheat must be made in foreign vessels. The success of the speculation depends on the corn arriving in time, and to accomplish that the merchant freights any vessel he can get hold of. One of the effects, then, of the sliding scale is to give employment to foreign in preference to British shipping; but that we can not expect will interest the farmers so much as the effects of the sliding scale on their own pockets."

The Manchester Guardian explains the mode in which this state of things was produced:

"We observe that some of the 'farmer's friends' are complaining loudly of

the fictitious sales of corn made during the last few weeks for the purpose of influencing the averages, and reducing the duty to the present low point. That fictitious sales have been made with the view both of raising and lowering the averages, and that those averages are little better than one grand swindle from beginning to end, we are pretty well satisfied; but that the supporters of the present corn law have any right to complain of the evils which inevitably result from it, we altogether dispute. They who offer irresistible temptations to the commission of fraud, are as much to blame as those by whom that fraud is committed; and the advocates of the present corn law can be considered in no other light than as the supporters of the system of artifice and deception which it has necessarily generated."

The following table, condensed from parliamentary documents published the present year, will aptly illustrate the process:

TABLE XIII.

Statement of the weekly average price, the duty average, and the rate of duty, with respect to each kind of grain; also, the quantities of each kind paid duty, and the amount of duty received thereupon (distinguishing foreign from colonial), in each week of August and September, 1841.

Weeks ending	Date of duties coming into operation.	Weekly aver'e price per quarter.	Duty average. Aggregate average regulating the duty.	Rate of duty per quarter.		Quantities on which duty was paid for home consumption.			Amount of duty received.		
				Foreign.	Colonial.	Foreign.	Colonial.	Total.	Foreign.	Colonial.	Total.
1841.	1841.	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*Qrs. bus.*	*Qrs. bus.*	*Qrs. bus.*	£ *s. d.*	£ *s. d.*	£ *s. d.*
Aug. 6	Aug. 12	70 5	66 4	20	5	1,274 5	5 0	1,279 5	1,320 8 4	1 5 0	1,321 13 4
13	19	72 5	67 9	18 8	6	1,167 5	29,394 5	30,562 2	1,080 11 3	734 11 11	1,815 3 2
20	26	74 7	69 6	13 8	6	1,361 6	12,431 7	13,793 5	899 4 11	308 5 9	1,207 10 8
27	Sept. 2	76 1	71 4	6 8	6	3,953 0	1,067 0	5,020 0	1,152 14 8	26 10 4	1,179 5 0
Sept. 3	9	74 1	72 8	2 8	6	26,806 1	1,300 3	28,106 4	3,229 1 2	32 10 5	3,261 11 7
10	16	71 2	73 2	1	6	1,852,619 2	1,110 7	1,853,730 1	92,649 4 1	27 15 5	92,676 19 6
17	23	64 8	72 2	2 8	6	74,217 4	819 0	75,036 4	8,977 1 9	20 9 6	8,997 11 3
24	30	63 4	70 8	10 8	6	41,760 5	–	41,760 5	17,700 16 8	–	17,700 16 8
		Total		-	-	2,003,160 4	46,128 6	2,049,289 2	127,009 2 10	1,151 18 4	128,160 11 2

The whole quantity of foreign wheat entered during the year, was 2,236,152 quarters; and the above table shows that 2,003,160 quarters, or 89.5 per cent., was admitted in two months, and 1,852,619, or 82.8 per cent. in a single week. The whole sum received during the year for the duty on wheat, was £390,070, of which the total received in those two months was but 32.8 per cent. The total duty received in the year on *foreign* wheat was £384,499, and the duty received in the two months was 33 per cent., and the duty paid in a single week was 24 per cent. Thus, 89.5 per cent. of the wheat paid but 33 per cent. of the duty, and 82.8 per cent. paid but 24 per cent. of the duty. As the duty rose immediately to 16*s.* 8*d.* the first week in October, to 20*s.* 8*d.* the second week, and to 22*s.* 8*d.* the third week (shutting the gate against further importations), and never fell below that during the rest of the year, while the weekly average prices ranged throughout the remainder of the year from 62*s.* 3*d.* to 66*s.* 4*d.*, there must have been a glorious harvest to the speculators, at the expense of the foreign producers and the home buyers.

THE BRITISH CENSUS OF 1841.

The results of the official census of the kingdom, taken the in year 1841, next claim attention. Their bearing on the corn question is partially argued in the following paragraphs, from the Circular for October, 1841:

"Since 1831 the population of the whole kingdom has increased about 12 per cent.; the population of the manufacturing districts has increased upward of 30 per cent.; the population of the agricultural districts has, on the contrary, decreased 2½ per cent.

"The census of 1831 gave, in every hundred families, 28 engaged in agriculture, 42 in trade and manufactures, and 30 in other occupations, which, strictly speaking, could not be classed either with the one or the other. Of this 30, part were annuitants, not engaged in any profession, but the larger portion were: 1st, miners, manufacturers, fishers, and others who occasionally (for example during the harvest months), were engaged in agriculture; and, 2d, persons engaged in road-making, land-carriage, and inland navigation. A far larger proportion of this second class, it is clear, were dependant upon the manufactures and trade of the country for support than upon the agriculture. In 1831, therefore, the manufactures and trade of the country provided a considerable majority of the inhabitants with the means of supporting themselves. Between 1831 and 1841 the numbers of the class dependant upon agriculture for support have fallen off by 2½ per cent., while the numbers of the class dependant upon manufactures for support have increased by upward of 30 per cent.

"There is only one possible way of explaining this fact; that in this country agriculture (the tillage of the soil of the country) has as many to support as it can be made to support. A number of human beings are annually born in the agricultural districts who can not find there the means of earning a livelihood, and must go seek it where there are manufactories to give them employment. The falling off in the population of the agricultural districts is not occasioned by fewer children being born there, but by the emigration of those who go to seek employment and an honest livelihood in the manufacturing districts. The increase in the manufacturing districts is not occasioned entirely by the births there, but by the immigration of persons from the agricultural districts in search of employment.

"By tilling the soil of this country a limited number of inhabitants can

be supported. By working up the raw produce of the miner and agriculturist, or the raw produce imported from other countries, into manufactures, and purchasing food with them from abroad, a much greater number (the limits of which we have no means of calculating), may be supported in addition to the agriculturists. It is clear, from the fact, that, while the population of the whole country is increasing, the population of the agricultural districts is diminishing, that the agricultural field of employment is overstocked, that it already supports as many as it can be made to support. Henceforth every addition to our population must earn its bread by making something wherewith it can buy food from abroad. To refuse our manufacturers the right of exchanging the produce of their industry for food grown in other countries is to enact that the population shall be kept down to a certain amount by means of starvation. This process is going on; the pressure felt in the manufacturing districts is the pangs of the hunger which is to keep down their numbers to the amount which our land-owning lawgivers think it convenient to decree.

"There is another fact connected with the falling off of the population of the agricultural districts that deserves attention. Although the censuses of 1811, 1821, and 1831, showed a progressive diminution in the number of agricultural families, as compared with the number of manufacturing families, they did not, so far as we can learn, show a positive falling off in the number of agriculturists. We can explain how this happened. The tax-system of relief under the old poor law allowed of more people remaining in the agricultural districts than could find employment. The landlords and their tenants supported more able-bodied men than they could find work for; to some they gave wages, and had allowances from the poor rates. But landlords and tenants found their capitals and incomes diminished by this, so they resolved to support none but those to whom they gave work, and the new poor law was passed, for the new poor law is a landlord's law. And by this screw all the able-bodied agricultural laborers, who formerly were contented to lounge lazily at home, have been forced into the manufacturing districts. The landlords have relieved themselves of their surplus population by ejecting it into the manufacturing districts. But, if the landlords will have their bread tax, they must not expect that the manufacturing districts can continue to draw off their able-bodied paupers."

"From 1700 to 1831, the population of Lancashire increased 800 per cent., Warwickshire 251, Staffordshire 250, Nottinghamshire 246; while the agricultural counties in the same period increased only 84 per cent."—*Eclectic Review.*

"From 1831 to 1841, the agricultural counties decreased 2.5 per cent. During the ten years between 1801 and 1811, the population of Lancashire increased at the rate of 23 per cent.; during the next ten years at the rate of 27 per cent.; and during the next ten years also at the rate of 27 per cent. That of Lanark increased at the rate of 31 per cent. in the first period; of 27 per cent. in the second; and of 30 per cent. in the third. At the beginning of that period, in 1801, the two most populous counties in Scotland were Lanark and Perth; the former containing 146,000 inhabitants, the latter 126,000. At the end of the period, in 1831, Lanark contained 316,000, and Perth only 142,000. While the population of the manufacturing county ncreased at the rate of more than 100 per cent., that of the agricultural district increased at the rate of less than 14 per cent. During the same period, he population of the North Riding of Yorkshire, a district chiefly agricul-

tural, rose from 158,000 to 190,000; that of the West Riding, a manufacturing district, from 565,000 to 976,000."

This proof of the actual decline of population in the agricultural districts, shows that whatever force the corn laws may be supposed to have had in times past, in stimulating the agriculture of the country, its power is now exhausted, and the day has arrived when inexorable necessity will compel a change.

THE CORN LAWS AND PAUPERISM.

The bearing of the system upon the pauperism of the country, is well illustrated by the following extract from a report of the auditors of the parish of St. Marylebone, in the year 1841:

TABLE XIV.

"*The following table shows, first, the rate per pound made in each year since* 1835; *secondly, the amount produced by the rate in each year; third, the average cost per head on the whole population in each year; fourth, the average rate on each inhabited house in each year; fifth, the average number of poor relieved; sixth, the whole cost of flour; seventh, the whole cost of butcher's meat; and eighth, the Gazette average price of those years.*

Years.	Poor rate per pound including the police and county.		Amount of rate collected.	Average rate per head on the population.		Average charge on each house.			Average number of poor relieved.	Cost of flour.	Cost of butcher's meat.	The Gazette average price of wheat.	
	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		£	£	s.	d.
1835	1	5	53,487	8	9	4	12	1	3,458	1,540	2,216	39	4
1836	1	2	44,573	7	3	3	16	9	3,222	1,827	2,837	48	6
1837	1	7	59,806	9	9	5	3	0	3,254	2,865	3,171	55	10
1838	1	7	61,091	9	11	5	5	0	3,385	3,392	3,185	64	7
1839	1	7	63,221	10	4	5	8	11	3,758	4,295	3,637	70	8
1840	1	11	76,355	12	5	6	11	6	4,100	4,605	4,120	66	4

"In 1831, when wheat was 66*s.* 4*d.* per quarter, the amount expended was £91,104. The price of wheat gradually fell to 39*s.* 4*d.*, and the amount expended also gradually fell to £53,487, being a saving to the parish of £37,617, nearly one third during that period; but since 1835, the price of wheat has again gradually advanced to 66*s.* 4*d.* in 1840, and the amount of the rate required has also again advanced from £53,487, to £76,355 in 1840, showing an additional cost to the parish of £22,868. The rate per head on the whole population had, during the same time, fallen from 14*s.* 10*d.* to 8*s.* 9*d.*, and advanced last year again to 12*s.* 5*d.*"

DECLINE OF THE HOME TRADE.

The effect of the corn laws upon the home trade is a very important view of the case. The state of the cotton trade, in all its branches, came up for consideration in a general meeting of delegates from the cotton inter-

ests, held at Manchester, December 16, 1841. "Robert Hyde Gregg, Esq., the largest cotton-spinner in England, was called to the chair. He denounced the corn laws as the principal cause of the past and present distress—of the disastrous prospects of the kingdom—of a great portion of the poverty, the vice, and the crime of the country—as the cause of banishment and expatriation to our citizens; and he denounced them, also, as fraught with danger and with political revolution.

"Mr. Bazley, of Manchester, then addressed the meeting, and stated, that the number of unoccupied dwellings, in Manchester and Salford, was 5,492; of unoccupied shops, offices, &c., 681; and of unoccupied mills and works, 116—making a total of 6,289, the yearly value of which was much above £100,000, and to which belonged steam-power equal to one thousand horses. He gave the following facts as an illustration of the distress existing in the town: Fifteen shopkeepers, taken in succession, trading in a principal street, consisting of provision-dealers, butchers, grocers, drapers, &c., state that their receipts, previous to the last two years, were £53,560 per annum; while, at the present time, their receipts are only at the rate of £31,512 per annum. Connected with the article of bread, alone, seven bakers of bread and flour dealers, who have uniformly supplied the laboring classes of certain districts, effected sales, in 1835, to the weekly amount of £870, the price of flour then being thirty-two shillings per sack, of two hundred and eighty pounds—thus showing the weekly sales as equal to five hundred and forty sacks; but the same tradesmen, in 1841, received only £700 weekly, while flour is fifty-three shillings per sack, making the sale equal only to two hundred and sixty-four sacks, or less than half the quantity.

"Mr. Alderman Kershaw showed that crime increased together with distress. In the four years ending with 1836, when the average price of wheat was forty-six shillings seven and a half pence, the number of prisoners in the New Bailey averaged 2,142 a year; and in the four years ending with 1840, when the average price of wheat was sixty-six shillings three pence, the number of prisoners was 2,629 a year."

The following resolution was adopted by the meeting, on motion of Mr. John Rylands, of Warrington, seconded by Mr. Nicholson, from Leeds:

"That, while demanding, as a right, the removal of all protective duties for the benefit of others, this meeting is desirous that the miscalled legal protection, given to the cotton trade, should be at the same time withdrawn. If such protective laws were operative, they could only be so at the expense of the consumers of cotton manufactures. They, on the contrary, are wholly inoperative; more than three fourths of the cotton spun and manufactured, and exported and sold in competition with every foreign rival, and the price abroad determining the price at home, no legislative enactment can possibly protect the capitalist or laborer engaged in the cotton trade. That, therefore, this meeting regards the existence of laws, professedly passed for its benefit, as calculated merely to delude the unreflecting, and to afford to others the pretence for maintaining monopolies oppressive and injurious to the interests of the country."

FALLING OFF OF THE COTTON TRADE.

But a more important document, showing the absolute decline of the home consumption of goods as the effect of the increasing poverty produced by the corn laws, is found in the following circular letter to the

"wholesale houses in London, interested in the cotton trade," and signed by no less than sixty firms in Manchester, embracing those most largely engaged in the home trade. It shows that while the exports of cotton goods in 1841, exceeded those of 1840. by ten millions pounds of yarn and thread and ninety millions yards of plain and printed calicoes, the consumption of cotton, in 1841, had diminished one hundred and fifty-six thousand bales or more than twelve per cent. from that of 1840. The letter is too important and instructive to be omitted:

"MANCHESTER, *January* 27, 1842.

"GENTLEMEN: The disastrous state of the cotton trade, in nearly all its branches, has for some time been the subject of public discussion. While the advocates of the manufacturing interest have attributed their sufferings to the falling off in the foreign demand, and have recommended the removal of restrictions, especially upon the importation of corn, as the only remedy for their distresses, the representatives of the agriculturists have supported the present corn and provision laws, on the ground that they are beneficial to the home trade; but neither party has, we think, directed its attention sufficiently to the inquiry, *how far the present depression arises from a diminution of the foreign or home consumption.* We think you will excuse our bringing under your notice a few facts bearing upon this important question.

"It appears, from the returns, that the quantity of cotton-wool entered for consumption, in the years 1840 and 1841, was as follows:

1840 - - - - -	1,274,729 bales.
1841 - - - - -	1,118,717 "
Decrease in the latter year - -	156,012

"We learn, also, that the exports of cotton goods and yarns, for the year 1841, have exceeded those of 1840, by the following quantities:

Increased exports of yarns - - -	8,208,908 lbs.
" " thread - - -	2,038,400 "
" " printed calico - -	25,077,132 yards.
" " plain calico - -	65,106,416 "

"We find, by the above statement, that although, during the last year, as compared with 1840, there was a diminished consumption of raw cotton, to the extent of three thousand bales a week, yet the exports of yarns and cotton goods, but particularly of the latter, were greater in the latter than in the preceding or any previous year—thus demonstrating the important fact, that the whole of the enormous decrease in our cotton manufacture, has been owing to the falling off in the demand for the home trade, the truth of which could, we fear, be painfully corroborated by those through whose hands this trade has passed.

"In looking for the cause of this great depression in the business of the country, we can not shut our eyes to the influence which the price of food has upon the consumption of clothing. Experience has shown us that when provisions are cheap, the home trade in manufactures is prosperous, and *vice versa.* By applying the test of this principle to the last three years, it appears to us that the high price of subsistence accounts for the

great diminution in the cotton trade; and that if we go back to 1834, '35, '36, the prosperity of those years is attributable to the cheapness of the first necessaries of life.

"The average price of wheat, for the three years 1834, '35, '36, was two pounds four shillings and eight pence a quarter, and for the three years 1839, '40, '41, it was three pounds eight shillings a quarter—being an increase of more than fifty per cent., and other provisions were in proportion. If we suppose that the whole of the food of the people cost, in the cheaper period, eighty millions sterling a year (any other sum will serve equally well for illustration), the same quantity would have cost one hundred and twenty millions per annum, during the latter period; and as the means of the consumers underwent no increase, but were, on the contrary, diminished, owing to the consequent bad state of trade, it follows that, during the last three years, one hundred and twenty millions of money less, was expended in the purchase of manufactures and other necessaries, which is sufficient to account for the falling off in the cotton trade.

"The wholesale trade has, at the same time, suffered great losses, owing to the restricted state of the currency and the consequent high rate of discounts—the continued depreciation of stocks, and the increased number of bankruptcies in the retail trade—a state of things which, however profitable in some respects to the banking and moneyed interests, has pressed with peculiar severity upon the wholesale dealers, and calls for their serious investigation.

"The present contraction of the currency was caused by the importation of corn in the autumn of 1838, and it has been continued, in consequence of repeated drains of gold, to pay for foreign wheat, down to this time. This contraction of the circulation we attribute entirely to the fluctuating scale of duties, which prevents a regular exchange of the manufactures of this country for foreign corn. Such derangements of the currency are never occasioned by the importation of articles free of duty, or on which fixed and unvarying duties are levied. During the last twenty-five years, for the greater part of which the sliding scale has been in operation, this country has imported commodities from abroad, exclusive of grain, to the value of upward of a thousand millions sterling, which have been paid for with the produce of its labor, without any sensible effect having been produced upon the currency; but, during the same period, corn, to the value of about forty millions, has been imported, the payment for which has occasioned the most serious shocks to the circulation. We therefore attribute the sacrifices to which the home trade has been subjected, by the enhanced rate of interest, the fall in the value of stocks, and the increased number of failures, mainly to the operation of the present corn law.

"We trust you will pardon us if we request your early and serious attention to the circumstances which, in our opinion, have caused the present almost unexampled depression in the home trade; a trade upon which, in common with yourselves, we are almost exclusively dependant. It is our intention to press the subject upon the consideration of the Government and legislature, and to petition for the repeal of the corn law. Should you coincide with us in opinion, we hope that you will also make known your views in the same quarters. We are the more anxious to engage your attention at the present moment, in order that, in the approaching deliberations in Parliament, upon the great questions of commercial policy, the interests of the home trade may be fairly and correctly stated.

"We shall only add the expression of our belief, that there is no reasonable prospect of the revival of the trade of this country, so long as the first necessaries of life continue at their present high price. Cheapness of food lies at the foundation of the prosperity of the home trade. Nor can there be, in our opinion, any security for the capital of the wholesale trader, while it is exposed to those fluctuations in the value of money, caused by the operations of the present corn law upon the currency.

"We remain, gentlemen, respectfully, your most obedient servants,

"AINSWORTH, SYKES, & Co.,
"DAVID AINSWORTH,
"ROBERT ARROWSMITH,
"ADAM KAY,
"WILLIAM KENNEDY & Co.,
"ROBERT LORD,
"And fifty-seven other firms."

This extraordinary statement, from such authority, not only confirms the accounts of the general and growing poverty of the people, but it shows, also, that the cotton-growers of the south are as deeply concerned as the provision-growers of the northwest, to do nothing that will increase this decline, or sink these people in deeper poverty, and thus increase their inability to consume goods. On the other hand, whatever shall revive the ability of the people to buy, will necessarily increase the market for both classes of our products.

FALLING OFF OF THF WOOLLEN TRADE.

Equally striking is the decline of the woollen trade, the exports of cloths having fallen from 427,288 pieces in 1820, to 258,962 pieces in 1840. Mr. Joshua Bateson, a manufacturer at Leeds, in a letter to the members of that town, October 7, 1841, gives some striking instances of the effect of the system in reducing the export of cotton manufactures, and in building up manufactures so as to create a demand for raw British wool in the countries on the continent of Europe. He says:

"Since 1824, the export of British-grown wools has gradually gone on increasing, while that of the manufactured article in cloths, coatings, and kerseymeres, has greatly diminished. Thus, it appears that the amount of

British-grown wools exported to foreign countries prior to 1824, was - - - - - -	Nil.
Ditto ditto in 1825 (after the present duties came into operation) - - - -	112,424 lbs.
Ditto ditto in 1830, ditto -	2,951,100 "
Ditto ditto in 1840, ditto -	4,810,387 "

"Again, let us see how the exportation of manufactured cloths, coatings, and kerseymeres of all sorts, made in this neighborhood, has been affected or diminished. In the years following, there is a fair average, and it will come to about the same figures, if taken upon an average of one year in five, when the two over-banking and over-producing years, 1835 and 1836, are excluded.

"Then in the year 1824 we exported to all foreign countries, including British possessions, of cloths, coatings, duffils, and kerseymeres of all

sorts - - - - - -	567,317 pieces.
1825 - ditto - ditto -	556,596 "
1830 - ditto - ditto -	445,360 "
1840 - ditto - ditto Alas! only	258,962 "

Showing a lamentable falling off in the exportation of manufactured woollens. In the same proportion the profits of merchants in the home trade have diminished, the corn laws causing a ruinous derangement of the currency and great fluctuations of price; hence the cause of numerous bankruptcies. Let the exportation of woollens be legitimately increased, not forced for want of purchasers at home, and competition in the home trade will diminish, profits will increase again, and the risk both of stocks and buyers be lessened.

"Now let me refer to the progress of manufactures of exactly similar articles to those above enumerated on the continent; but this view I confine to what I have seen myself and learned from my own private sources, on which I can depend for their accuracy. I am told there was not a single steam engine employed in the manufacture of woollens in 1820, either in Verviers in Belgium, or in Aix-la-Chapelle in Prussia, and the largest manufacturers did not make more than twenty-five pieces per week, very few, indeed, more than eight or ten pieces. In 1840, there were manufactured in Verviers and the neighborhood as per document enclosed, which shows that the largest manufacturer produced one hundred and forty-four pieces per week, and others from eighty to one hundred and thirty per week.

Total in 1840 - - - - - -	105,245	pieces.
In Aix-la-Chapelle and neighborhood, and in the Dutchy of Berg, was manufactured in the year 1840 - -	230,000	"
Total manufactured in the year 1840 in only one district of Belgium and Prussia, all within a day's journey of each other - - - - - -	335,245	"
England exported to all the world in 1840, according to a parliamentary return moved for by our late esteemed patriotic member, Mr. Baines - - - -	258,962	"
Showing that in one district only on the continent, where the manufacture of woollens is carried on, there was made more than we exported to all the world by -	76,283	"

"In addition to these facts, is it not most lamentable to contemplate, that of the 105,245 pieces manufactured in Verviers and the neighborhood, England supplied the raw material—in British-grown wools equivalent to the proportion of 85,589 pieces. Allow me to explain. In 1840 Britain exported to Belgium of British grown wools, exclusive of colonial wool, the weight of 4,108,316 lbs.; reckoning that two pounds of wool will make one yard of cloth, the produce is 2,054,158 yards. If a piece of cloth be averaged at twenty-four yards, this will show that England supplied the raw material equivalent to 85,589 pieces, being more than three-fourths of the total quantity manufactured in Belgium, thus proving, beyond all doubt, that the interests of our woollen manufacturers, and their numerous workpeople, are sacrificed to that of the British landed proprietors. Nevertheless, strange as it may appear, woollen manufacturers are to be found sacrificing their own political influence and votes at elections to support the already over powerful land owners, to the destruction of manufactures!

"If you ask me how will the repeal of the corn laws benefit the community in general, and the woollen manufacturers in particular, I reply, by enabling them to compete in the markets of the world with foreign manufacturers; by enabling the woollen manufacture, which employs a larger amount of labor than any other, to employ a numerous population

at better wages than agriculture ever did or can afford; by enabling the manufacturer to continue to employ a large number of immigrants from the agricultural districts, in fact, their surplus population, which they have not employed and can not employ. Had this not been the case, what could have prevented the wages of the English farm laborer from falling down, even with the bolstering aid of the corn laws, to the level of the Irish and Scotch farm laborers? the condition of the former being worse than any I have seen in the poorest agricultural district on the continent. Destroy commerce and manufactures, which are declining rapidly, and land must ultimately share the same fate. The wool tax and the corn laws are striking examples how the interests of commerce have been sacrificed to that of land, and that sacrifice has within the last two years reduced hundreds of industrious worthy families in this neighborhood to poverty and ruin, and thousands of artisans to misery and pauperism.

"In conclusion, permit me seriously, but most earnestly, to recommend these imperfect remarks to your attentive examination; see whether they rest upon a solid or a weak foundation, and if the former, as I really believe they do, then I join most cordially with my fellow-townsmen in requesting your united and utmost exertions to apply a speedy remedy. In this hope, allow me to remain with great respect, gentlemen,

"Your obedient humble servant,

"JOSHUA BATESON.

"LEEDS, *Oct.* 7, 1841."

The following corroborative statement forms part of a letter from Mr. Muller of Lubeck, inserted by Mr. Hickson in his report to the hand-loom commissioners:

"Although our agricultural neighbors in Mecklenburg and Holstein complain much about the present system of corn laws in England, yet all our manufacturers are happy to see them continued. They hope soon to be able to push the English entirely out of foreign markets, and to furnish themselves all the articles we still import from England. If your corn laws remain *in statu quo*, it may be taken for granted that in ten or fifteen years there will be very little demand for English manufactures on the continent. If a free trade, as formerly, could be re-established in corn, the land owners would soon augment their wheat fields, secure to themselves by it a constant revenue, and be able to purchase and consume a great deal of British manufactures of all kinds. Mecklenburg and Holstein alone, with 1,000,000 inhabitants, would become important consumers of England.

"I can not understand the policy of your Government by which, while you ruin us, you injure yourselves at the same time. England is essentially a manufacturing country; we were agricultural, and were content to pay you with our corn for your manufactures; now you refuse to take our corn, and, as we have nothing else with which to buy, you compel us to manufacture for ourselves. The policy you are pursuing is making the whole German people your rivals instead of your customers. Cloth manufactories, hemp and flax spinning works, iron foundries, and hardware manufacture, are increasing rapidly among us, and your cotton trade must expect to compete more and more with continental establishments. Every year adds to the number of steam-mills in Germany; and every acre laid down in pasture transfers some of our cheap labor, by which you might

be fed, to manufactures, which, ultimately driving yours out of the market, will cause a large portion of your industrious population to starve.

"To your corn laws must be attributed the Prussian League, by which your manufactures are already excluded the greater portion of the German states. By-and-by you will not have a market left in Europe. At present, however, not only the Hans Towns of Hamburg, Lubeck, and Bremen, but the large provinces of Holstein, Mecklenburg, and Lauenburg, admit all British manufactures free of duty. But of what avail is it that we are ready to receive your manufactures, when our farmers and peasants have nothing to buy them with but the produce of the soil? Receive our corn, and we will in a year or two receive thrice the quantity of goods we do at present. Beside coal, slates, salt, cutlery, earthenware, for which we have always a ready market, there are many articles we should be glad to purchase with corn from Great Britain and Ireland, which we can obtain from other countries only for gold."

Mr. Hickson's own statement shows that the greatest anxiety of all, among the manufacturers, has reference to the competition of the United States, and that while they are as much afraid of our competition as we are of theirs, it is hardly natural for the *manufacturers* of America, more than those of Germany, to complain of a system which is doing so much to build them up.

"Perhaps the most formidable competition we have to anticipate," adds Mr. Hickson, "is from the United States of America. By diverting their attention from agriculture, we have made a manufacturing and commercial nation of a people of the same habits of industry, the same spirit of enterprise, as ourselves. Already has their progress been so great, that the export trade of America is increasing in a ratio four times greater than our own. I see nothing to prevent their foreign commerce exceeding that of the United Kindom within less than another twenty years. With the great advantage of cheap food, the current of emigration will constantly be directed thither. America is regarded by our artisans as their second home. There many of our friends are settled, and our best workmen are at all times much more easily induced to follow a capitalist to America, where their own language is spoken, than to France or Germany. High wages in the United States, it is supposed, will be an obstacle to manufacturing progress; but this is really a very slight impediment where machinery is employed in manufactures. Nor is the difference between the wages of skilled artisans here and in America very great; they are high in both countries. The difference in America is less in favor of the mechanic than of the day-laborer; and for working cotton spinning and power loom machinery, physical strength is not required, and the labor of women and children can be obtainecd as cheaply in America as in Lancashire. Miss Martineau states, that in Boston the earnings of young women at needlework are but 9*d.* per day.

"The progress already made in power-loom weaving in the United States, proves that, in this respect, they have encountered no difficulties which can not be overcome. Mr. Galbreath, of the firm of Johnstone & Galbreath, Glasgow, told me that he was informed upon authority upon which he could depend, that already there were at Lowell 4,800 power looms in full operation. Mr. Galbreath had been led to inquire into the subject, finding American cotton cloth competing with his own at Canton, and at Valparaiso, monopolizing nearly the whole of the trade. He was

in the habit of exporting largely, but foreign competition was fast gaining upon him in every third or neutral market."

ANTI CORN LAW MEETINGS IN SCOTLAND.

Among the important measures of the repealers, during the winter, was the holding of a series of conventions in the principal towns of Scotland, which, taken in connexion with the awful sufferings of Paisley, produced a deep effect. A conference of ministers at Edinburg, on the 11th January, was attended by about 700 ministers of the Gospel. Some of their debates are thus described in the Circular for January:

"The Reverend Dr. Taylor, of Auchtermuchty, in the course of his address, alluding to his labors as a Christian minister, said, when speaking of the bounty of Divine Providence in satisfying the wants of everything that lives: 'He had felt himself constrained to say, that the destitution many of them were experiencing proceeded from laws not enacted by God, but by man, and in direct contravention of the divine.' Again: 'He had felt restrained, when conducting public worship, from, in so many words, blessing God for filling our hearts with food and gladness, lest, instead of exciting feelings of devotion toward the Giver of all good, it might only kindle indignation against those who intercept his bounties.'

"Dr. Heugh, of Glasgow, after describing the crushing effect of the bread tax upon those least able to bear it, showing that it is an income tax of 20 per cent. upon the laborer, while it is imperceptible in its effect upon the rich, asks: '*Can this be right?* I look to this fact,—this undeniable fact,—that the effect and design of these laws are, to raise exorbitantly the price of the produce of God's earth; to compel the poor to pay for that produce a portion of their substance,—their hard-earned substance,—indefinitely larger than those in circumstances of comfort and affluence have to pay of theirs; that their necessary effect is to produce scarcity, straits, and discomfort, among the laborious, toil-worn millions—is to spare the rich and harass the poor to oppression. This is not mercy, it is cruelty; this is not equity, it is iniquity. The laws of man ought not to oppose the known will and laws of God. Can He who has revealed himself as the guardian of the poor, can He approve those unrighteous and merciless statutes, which spread oppression and suffering through every cottage in the land?'

"The Reverend Mr. Harvey, of Glasgow, concluded his speech in these terms: 'Forbearance has its limits, and patience under starvation can not always last. Our law-makers must either do justice to the nation, or speedily sink in the general ruin. They must either listen to the people's righteous cries for redress, or awaken their vengeance. Can human endurance be expected to witness calamity, amid cold, and famine, and nakedness, more lavished on vain pomp and extravagant display, than would feed a thousand starving families for a month? It is time to undo the heavy burdens; in a short time it may be too late.'

"Dr. Taylor concluded in words of similar import: 'The people are convinced that the government, the legislature, and the aristocracy, know that the corn law is the chief cause of their sufferings, and that they have the screw in their hands, and can give as much relaxation and relief as they choose. Many of them believe that relief is not within the reach of peaceable agitation; that it can be extorted only by terror. It is for those in high places to make timely concessions, lest measures be resorted to which all good men are horrified to contemplate.'

"There is a solemnity in these denunciations of the corn law, under which it must reel and stagger; there is an earnestness in this voice from the north which the abettors of the foul iniquity will do well to note. We have here no party feeling, no balancing of a fixed injustice in a fixed duty, against the more subtle abominations of a sliding scale; no tampering with the demands of truth and justice, but a full recognition of all the requirements of sound policy, of morality, and religion. We confess our hearts are gladdened at beholding this stern, this inflexible regard to what is right; it speaks of the noble spirit of times which are past, and which in our day is still burning brightly in Scotland. It is a noble sight this we have witnessed, and we may say of the truly great and good men who were thus engaged in defending the oppressed, and in rebuking the guilty but powerful oppressor—

"'No servile doctrines, such as power approves,
They to the poor and broken-hearted taught;
With truths that tyrants dread, and conscience loves,
They winged and barbed the arrows of their thought;
Sin in high places was the mark they sought.'"

BIRTH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

Similar meetings were held in all parts of the country. Every occasion was seized to increase the interest and the agitation. Some expedients were resorted to, that, to a people not starving, might appear rather preposterous. For instance, at several public meetings, called to congratulate the Queen on the birth of the Prince of Wales, amendments would be moved, and in some instances carried, as at Derby and Southwark, making an addition to the congratulating address of the following tenor:

"At the same time we can not but acquaint your Majesty, that thousands of virtuous women, your Majesty's subjects, are passing through the like natural extremities upon beds of straw, without even a pillow whereon to lay their heads, or sustenance to support them; that starvation and misery are pervading the whole land, and we attribute this state of things to class legislation, from which have sprung the abominable corn monopoly, the iniquitous poor law, and all other oppressive laws, which have reduced the people to their present wretched and miserable condition; and, therefore, we pray your Majesty to instruct your ministers to pass a law for the total and immediate repeal of all enactments that have a tendency to rob the millions for the benefit of the few; and also that every male inhabitant, twenty-one years of age, untainted with crime, may have a vote in the election of representatives in the Commons House of Parliament, and that all such votes be given by ballot."

PETITIONS.

Petitions to the Queen were signed by the women, and petitions to Parliament signed by men, amounting in number to several millions. The enumeration of a few will serve as a specimen of the spirit with which it was carried on:

"*Manchester.*—The petitions against the corn laws, signed entirely by the females of Manchester, contained 77,800 signatures.

"There is a petition from the unemployed poor resident in the town of Manchester; the number of signatures to which are upward of 12,000.

"*Buckinghamshire.*—More than a score of petitions have been again despatched to London, all from the Duke's county, and all for total repeal. Among them one from Aylesbury with 500 signatures; another from Prisborough, signed by a majority of the whole parish. In the latter are the heads of 18 families; aggregate persons, 138; aggregate earnings weekly, £9 6*s.* 6*d.*; deduct for rent, fuel, candles, and soap, 2*s.* per week on 18 families, £1 16*s.* from £9 6*s.* 6*d.*, leaves £7 10*s.* 6*d.*, or less than 2*d.* each per diem for food, and nothing for the clothes of our *home customers*, or medicine for our fellow-creatures in the time of sickness.

"*Bolton.*—The memorial to the Queen from the females of Bolton is now fifty yards long, and is already signed by upward of 16,000 persons. Amid the unparalleled distress by which we are surrounded, it is truly gratifying to find the ladies who are engaged in this good work so unwearied in their exertions, and their labors crowned with so much success. Whatever may be the result of the present movement, to those who have been so disinterestedly employed there must be a pleasing satisfaction that *they* have done *their* duty to those who are 'ready to perish.'

"*Haslingden.*—The memorial to the Queen from the females of this place contains 3,000 signatures, and has been transmitted to the honorable C. P. Villiers for presentation.

"*Salterforth.*—The movement in this village has been wonderful; all the females in the village, with the exception of four, have signed the memorial to the Queen. The petitions, both general and congregational, have also been numerously signed. A considerable fund has been raised for the purpose of supplying the poor with bread free of the tax. Sir C. R. Tempest, Bart., H. Deane, Esq., and T. Birbeck, Esq., of Settle, have contributed very handsomely to this fund.

"*Carlisle.*—Fifty-five petitions, containing upward of 20,000 signatures, have been forwarded for presentation to the House of Commons—fifty-two for repeal of the corn laws, and three for revision of the import duties. We may also add that, in twenty-four petitions from agricultural districts, the signatures of 326 landowners and farmers were affixed, including one baronet and an extensive landowner. Three petitions from the borders of Scotland—Gretna, Springfield, and Ecclefechan—with 1,251 signatures, contain the names of 114 landowners and farmers. We believe nearly every farmer in the parish of Gretna signed. The Reverend Mr. McGill, of Rigg, by Gretna, writes thus: 'Our petition, signed by 407 persons,' contains the names of thirty-eight farmers, all of whom signed it with the utmost readiness, and some of whom pay a rent of not less than £500 or £600.

"*Derby.*—Petitions for a repeal of the corn laws are more numerously signed than last year. Many villages have petitioned that have heretofore been neutral. The Anti Corn Law Association has obtained some American flour, and had some loaves made, to show the difference of price here and in America. The exhibition of these has had an electrical effect; the monopolists are quite frantic at the sight. We are also going to exhibit sugar in contrast in the same way. We would advise this course throughout the kingdom. One pair of *loaves* is worth five thousand handbills, or half a dozen lectures."

SIR ROBERT PEEL'S CORN LAWS.

On the 9th of February, 1842, Sir Robert Peel rose to lay before the House the plan of the Government respecting the corn laws. He did not expect to

produce any material mitigation of the general distress, however much he might regret it. He said:

"I apprehend that the true question is, not what is the price of food, but what is the command which the laboring classes have over it (loud cheers). That includes the question, whether the people require the necessaries only, or the luxuries of life; because in point of fact, from the prevalence of their consumption, many luxuries are in truth necessaries, and the real question will be, what is the command which the laboring classes of this country have over the enjoyments of life (hear)? Now, under the operation of the corn laws, let us compare the condition of the laboring classes in this country with the condition of the laboring classes in those countries in which I admit it appears that the price of provisions is greatly less than here."

He then read extracts from the evidence given by Dr. Bowring before the committee on import duties, to prove that the English consume, per head, very much more of meat, sugar, tea, salt, woollen and cotton goods, and even wheat itself, than the inhabitants of Prussia, where grain is scarcely half so high in price as in England. He did not contend that the sufferers at Paisley were able to command the comforts he had mentioned; but he could only take general facts, admitting particular and painful exceptions. In Belgium corn was cheaper than in England, but then wages were so much lower in Belgium that the working man had less command over the enjoyments of life than here.

"I agree that for the last four years the average supply of this country has been unequal to the demand; but in considering this question, it becomes important to ascertain what is the probability that this country from its own resources can be able to supply its own population. Now, I am not prepared to admit that this country is unable in ordinary years to supply its own population. If I formed my judgment from the circumstances of the last four years, I should have been compelled to conclude that we were dependant on foreign supply for a great proportion of our consumption. I should have been compelled to come to this conclusion, because the average of the last four years' importation of foreign corn into this country was 2,300,000 quarters. But if we take a longer period—if we take twelve or thirteen years, then it would appear that on the whole the annual average importation of foreign corn was very considerably smaller. In proof of this, I beg to state, that taking the quantities of wheat and wheaten flour imported in those years, it appeared that the whole did not amount to more than 12,000,000 or 13,000,000 quarters."

He said that for the last three years the average price of wheat had been 56*s.* 11*d.*, and he thought that 54*s.* to 58*s.* would be a fair range, making the average 56*s.* After making a statement respecting some change in the method of taking the weekly averages, he proceeded to say:

"With these observations, I will now at once proceed to read the scale of duties which her Majesty's Government propose as a substitute for the existing scale. We propose that when corn is at 50*s.* and under 51*s.* in price, a duty of 20*s.* shall be taken, but that in no case shall that duty be exceeded. We propose that when the price is 51*s.* and under 52*s.*, the duty shall be 19*s.*; and after this we propose that there should be what I should call a rest in the scale. That at the three next items of price the duty should be uniform. Thus it would be—when the price is 52*s.* and under 53*s.*, the duty should be 18*s.*; when 53*s.* and under 54*s.*, 18*s.*; and when 54*s.* and under 55*s.*, still 18*s.* When the price is 55*s.* and under 56*s.*, we propose that the

duty shall be 17*s.*; when 56*s.* and under 57*s.*, that it shall be 16*s.*; when 57*s.* and under 58*s.*, that it shall be 15*s.*; when 58*s.* and under 59*s.*, that it shall be 14*s.*; when 59*s.* and under 60*s.*, that it shall be 13*s.*; when 60*s.* and under 61*s.*, that it shall be 12*s.*; when 61*s.* and under 62*s.*, that it shall be 11*s.*; when 62*s.* and under 63*s.*, that it shall be 10*s.*; when 63*s.* and under 64*s.*, that it shall be 9*s.*; when 64*s.* and under 65*s.*, that it shall be 8*s.*; and when 65*s.* and under 66*s.*, that it shall be 7*s.* At the three next items of price I propose another rest in the scale similar to the former. I should propose upon the next three a duty of 6*s.*; that is to say, when the price is 66*s.* and under 67*s.*, when it is 67*s.* and under 68*s.*, and when it is 68*s.* and under 69*s.* In each of those cases the duty would be 6*s.* When the price is 69*s.* and under 70*s.*, I propose a duty of 5*s.*; when 70*s.* and under 71*s.*, a duty of 4*s.*; when 71*s.* and under 72*s.*, a duty of 3*s.*; when 72*s.* and under 73*s.*, a duty of 2*s.*; and when 73*s.* and under 74*s.*, a duty of 1*s.* the quarter. When that price is arrived at, I propose that the duty should altogether cease.

"The protection which I propose to retain, I do not retain for the especial protection of any particular class. Protection can not be vindicated on that principle. The only protection which can be vindicated is that protection which is consistent with the general welfare of all classes in the country. I should not consider myself a friend to the agriculturist if I asked for a protection with a view of propping up rents, or for the purpose of defending his interests, or the interests of any particular class; and in the proposition I now submit to the House, I totally disclaim any such intention. My belief, and the belief of my colleagues is, that it is important for this country, that it is of the highest importance to the welfare of all classes in this country, that you should take care that your main sources of your supply of corn should be derived from domestic agriculture: while we also feel that any additional price which you may pay in effecting that object, is an additional price which can not be vindicated as a bonus or premium to agriculture, but only on the ground of its being advantageous to the country at large."

Lord John Russell replied, saying he was not surprised, for he had not expected from ministers any proposal for the relief of the country, for he did not expect to get "grapes from thorns or figs from thistles." The present proposal of her Majesty's Government he ventured to denounce as an insult to the sufferings of a people whose patience had been extolled by the right honorable baronet, but whose patience deserved a very different treatment from that which it was now proposed by the landed aristocracy and the cabinet, who was their instrument, to confer upon them. This policy toward the people of England he very much feared would end, at no very remote period, in the utter destruction of every interest in the country.

February 14.—The debate was resumed. Lord John Russell proceeded to state the principles which he "considered that Parliament should proceed in dealing with the question. The community was a far better judge of its own interest with reference to the commodities which it required than the wisest senators; the buying and selling of commodities should therefore be freed from the restraints and regulations of legislation. There was, however, exception to this principle. If you have unduly distributed taxation as regards certain branches of industry, then it is necessary that you should make some equivalent taxation. But if you do so, as Mr. Ricardo has said, with regard to general articles of taxation, you have no right to do so with regard to corn, because the whole people bear a large share in that taxation; becaus

the merchant and the manufacturer bear a share of it as well as the whole people.

"But the plan of Government was based on the exploded notion of absolute independence of foreign nations for a supply of food—a notion which might be suitable for the inhabitants of the interior of Mexico, but was wholly unfitted for a great manufacturing and commercial country.

"Supposing it possible, in what manner could you establish such an independence? Remember, that not only corn, but other articles, are necessary. But as to corn only, let us not forget, as the right honorable gentleman stated the other night, that for four years the average annual importation of corn to this country from abroad was 2,300,000 quarters. Thus, 2,000,000 people must, during that period, have depended for food upon foreign countries. As regards other commodities, the employment of the people and the increase of manufactures depend as much on the supply of the raw material as the food of those 2,000,000 depended on the supply of corn from abroad. Suppose the supply of cotton from America were suddenly stopped, or the supply of wool, or of silks, I do not think I should exaggerate if I said that not less than 7,000,000 persons would be deprived of employment and subsistence. Here, then, for four or five years, under a law which goes upon the principle of making the country independent of any other for its supply of food, 7,000,000 of your people were dependant upon foreign produce. For that period 7,000,000 of the people of this country, who had gone on the principle of being independent of a foreign supply, were compelled, in despite of and in defiance of that principle, to have recourse to foreign aid.

"The only case in which independence of foreigners could be entertained was that of war, yet even then we had imported foreign corn; and what we were then able to do we might reasonably presume we should be able to do again. Resting as we do on commerce and manufactures, we should have the produce of the whole world open to us, and we had no occasion to fear the result under any combination of circumstances. To the proposed sliding scale he objected, in the first place, that it was too high.

"I could understand a scale not exceeding 10*s.* or 12*s.*, and going down to 4*s.*, to 3*s.*, or to 1*s.*; but I find that whenever gentlemen speak of a sliding scale, it is of such a nature as to contain a prohibitory duty. What is the first duty in the proposed plan? The first duty, when the price is at 50*s.*, and under 51*s.*, is 20*s.*, and I shall now proceed to show that that is a prohibitory duty."

Here he entered into details to show that corn from Dantzic or Odessa could not be imported under 45*s.* 6*d.*; and that from America it could not come but at about the same price, or perhaps 6*d.* lower—a cost which, amounting, with the 20*s.* duty, to 65*s.* or 65*s.* 6*d.*, was absolutely prohibitory; and a prohibitory duty under any circumstances was a violation of those great principles of commerce which should govern a commercial country. Another evil of the sliding scale was, that it maintained a system of averages.

"Now, take the averages as fairly as you can, and there is still one thing which they will not and can not tell you, and that is the quality of the corn. During the past year and some of the preceding years, a great portion of the corn of the country was greatly damaged, to the extent, as alleged by some persons well acquainted with agriculture, of one fifth of the whole crop of England. The consequence was a considerable reduction in the market price. But did the people get their bread a whit the cheaper? No. When corn comes to that degree of cheapness, it is not cheapness to the consumer of bread, because he is paying as much as when the average was much

higher. This has been made out in figures by the gentleman who sent it to me. He shows that in the month of January, 1841, the average price of wheat was 61*s.* 2*d.*, and that in the same month in 1842 the average was also 61*s.* 2*d.* You may, therefore, say that the average price being the same at both periods, and the duty being also the same, the people obtained bread at the same price. But is it so? Far from it; because, according to the Mark lane return, I found that the price of the best flour in the first four weeks of 1841 was 55*s.* per sack; while in the first four weeks of 1842, it was 61*s.* per sack, making a difference of no less than 6*s.* per sack in that description of flour from which the bread is made, while no alteration took place either in the averages or the amount of duty. This you can not remedy by changing your system of averages, though you were to introduce into the list one hundred and fifty more towns than are now proposed."

Another evil was, that the sliding scale gave us an irregular, instead of a steady supply and demand, and under it we were exposed to a drain of bullion and a contraction of the currency, in addition to the evil of a deficient harvest at home; thus, by bad legislation, aggravating the difficulties produced by the operation of natural causes. A sliding scale, therefore, subjected us to a gambling, instead of a wholesome and steady trade. It had yet another mischief, it excluded us from the markets of America.

Dr. Bowring complained that Sir Robert Peel had made partial statements from his evidence before the committee on import duties, and put them to an unfair use. He argued against a fixed duty, and was persuaded that nothing short of a total repeal would now satisfy public opinion. He preferred even the existing system to the plan proposed; for the very frauds tended to reduce the duty. Foreign countries were now converted into rival manufacturers, and had ceased to care about exporting their corn to this country. He denied that any peculiar sacrifices had been made by the landed interests. The taxes upon land had not increased proportionally to the increase in its value. Public opinion was now awakening to a sense of these oppressions.

February 15. Mr. Labouchere said, the question now to be considered was, whether, on an average, England grew corn enough for her own consumption. He showed, in figures, that this was not her position, and that she was annually importing larger and larger quantities of foreign corn for her still increasing population.

He held in his hand a return of the average quantities of colonial and foreign corn supplied to this country for every ten years, ranging from 1760 to 1840, from which return it appeared, that, notwithstanding the great increasing price of agricultural labor and produce, if they were to speak from experience of the past wants of the people, the home demand had outstripped the home supply; and, therefore, it should not be forgotten in arguing this question, that an increased demand on foreign supplies was to be expected. If our wants increased in the same ratio during the next ten years, 20,500,000 quarters of wheat would be required by us, being rather more than 2,000,000 quarters per annum, on the average.

Ireland was no longer able to supply the deficiency; she consumed more wheat herself than heretofore, and applied more of her land, with larger profit, to grazing. He would admit that the proposed plan diminished the jumps, and it would probably yield some increase of revenue; but it did not give to great interests any benefit which made it worth while to alter the law at all. He then argued at some length against the principle of a liding scale, and showed its evil effects upon trade. He did not mean, by

voting against the Government measure, to go the length of declaring himself in favor of a total repeal of duty. He knew that many objections were urged against a fixed duty; but at least we had not, as in the case of the sliding scale, an actual experience of its inefficacy.

They were told that, in times of scarcity and high prices, a fixed duty would be grievous to the consumer, and could not be retained. He believed this objection was equally unfounded. He did not believe that, under any circumstances, there would be difficulty in maintaining a fixed duty, nor did he believe that its maintenance would operate grievously or injuriously to the consumer. He would not go over the statements which had been made upon that subject; but it appeared to him as clear as demonstration could make it, that, under all ordinary circumstances, if they had a fixed duty, and were called upon to abandon it in consequence of high prices, the only effect would be, to make a present of the whole of that duty to the speculator, while the consumer would not derive the slightest benefit from its abandonment.

February 23. Mr. O'Connell contended that the whole question was one between the rich and the poor, for the largest portion of a poor man's expenditure was in the article of food.

The people wanted food, and the Government would not let them have it. The object of the corn laws was, to raise the natural price of human food. The natural price was that which the article would bear in a market open to the produce of the whole world. The law prevented a cheap harvest in one country compensating for a dear one in another, and kept up the price in defiance of the bounty of Providence. Under this law, the distresses of the country had gone on increasing year after year, until they had become so intolerable, that ministers boasted of the patience of the people in enduring them. For what reason was food withheld from the people? To make the landed interest more wealthy. Nine tenths of a poor man's income were expended on food, but not a thousandth part of a rich man's income was appropriated to that purpose. Would the landed interest leave this question to the decision of chartists or radicals? No. Then, what right had the representatives of the landed interest to decide the question between themselves and the poor? The operatives had no organ to represent their wishes in that house. Their enemies were there packed against them, and they had as little chance of obtaining justice as a man who was tried by a partial judge and a packed jury.

He denied that cheap bread was not as great a boon to the agricultural laborer as to the other working classes. He did not desire a gradual repeal, but an immediate one.

It was the word "now," in his opinion, that gave the great importance to the present motion. If the entire repeal of all duties on corn took place, there would be a great influx of corn this year into our markets. There would be a glut of corn, and that would offer a prospect of affording effectual relief to the distress that now prevailed.

Mr. Hawes would support total repeal. He believed the Government plan would operate as a prohibition upon importation except when corn was at a very high price. He read letters and quoted documents to prove that a sliding scale would prevent any benefit to the consumer. He did not know why a British minister should wish to keep up the price of corn to a certain standard.

The right honorable gentleman had said he wished to keep the price of

corn varying from 54s. to 58s., the probable average being 56s. He wished to know upon what ground the right honorable baronet had founded his principle. Was there no evidence to show that corn could be grown cheaper? Upon what principle was it that the prime minister had expressed his hope that corn would range between the prices he had named. It would appear that the natural wish would have been, that corn should be at as low a price as possible. The attempt to regulate the price of corn between two given points had, in fact, been repudiated by past legislatures. Now, in 1815, the price of corn was 90s., and he had a right to ask what reliance was to be placed upon the opinions of gentlemen who had entertained such different ideas in that year as to the amount of protection necessary for the farmer, to those they now came forward and avowed—a difference, in the course of twenty-five years, of from 90s. to 56s.? There was no more valid reason for supposing 56s. a necessary price to be kept up, than there then was that 90s. ought to be maintained.

He quoted evidence of experienced practical farmers to prove that a price much below 56s. would repay them. The proposed plan was more objectionable than that of a fixed duty; for a fixed duty was better adapted to repress speculation. He believed that, under the proposed plan, there would come in between 60s. and 64s. more corn than would be agreeable to the agriculturists, but less than would satisfy the people; and so, ere long, all parties would concur in its abrogation. With regard to the averages, he was prepared to maintain that a difference of at least 5s. a quarter would be made in the averages, by the addition of the 156 towns to the 150 from which the averages were now taken, and by the adoption of a more stringent mode of taking them.

February 24. The debate was resumed. Mr. Thorneley alluded to the very great importance of the trade with America, to which the exports amount to about £8,000,000 sterling, chiefly finished goods of value, and facility ought to be given to the United States to pay in corn and provisions. In reply to the argument that America could not export corn, he referred to the peculiar instances of 1836 and '37, when the average exportation for forty years had been 200,000 barrels of flour, equal to 560,000 quarters of wheat; but it should be remembered, he said, that there was not an inducement to raise corn for the British market, in consequence of the sliding scale. During the time, between the 9th of August to the 30th of September, when the duties had fallen from 22*s.* 8*d.* to 1*s.*, the importation of European wheat exceeded 600,000 quarters, while from America not one barrel of flour had been received. He said, if the sliding rule was continued, it ought to have thirteen weeks to run for all ports in the Mediterranean, or beyond the Atlantic. As it now stands, it is most unfair to countries at a distance.

Sir Robert Peel said that in six weeks flour could be ordered from New York *via* Liverpool, and that it had been done, referring to the case of the Siddons for an example—that an order was sent by the steamer of August 4, and the flour actually reached Liverpool on the 13th of September.

[A Liverpool paper says that, "Whoever informed Sir Robert on this subject, misled him most egregiously. It is quite true, that the order left Liverpool on the 4th of August, and that the flour was shipped on board the Siddons, which sailed on the 25th from New York; but it is not true that she arrived on the 13th of September at Liverpool. She did not arrive until the 24th of that month, too late in the day to enter her cargo at the custom-house.

'The whole period, from the transmission of the order to the entering of the flour, was not six, but seven and a half weeks."]

Mr. J. Duncombe alluded to the disadvantageous effect of the sliding scale with regard to the merchants of America. The honorable baronet (Sir R. Peel) had stated in six weeks after an order was sent out corn or flour might be received in this country from America. Was that the footing on which the American corn-dealer wished to be placed with regard to this country? Did he wish only to send his corn when he received an order from this country? No; what the American merchant wanted was a certain market, that he might bring here the produce of his soil, and purchase in return our manufactures. (Hear, hear.) And how had they treated the wishes of the Americans on this subject? Why, they had at this moment a bill upon the table of that house for imposing a duty of 3*s.* upon all corn or wheat that crossed the St. Lawrence to our Canadian colonies. (Hear.)

Sir Robert Peel said our relations with the United States were such, that if we wished to place any country on an advantageous footing, as compared to others, in this respect, he believed there was not any man who would deny to the United States that advantage. If, for instance, we looked to Russia, and to the amount of our exports thither, he believed that no one would deny that we ought to give the preference to the United States. But if any departure were made from this plan, that departure would tell most against the United States, with whom it was most material for us to maintain our present relations in this respect. He was standing there as the advocate of a qualified free trade against monopoly; and he was holding that evening the same language that he held in 1827. He then said, "he did not believe that the quantity of flour imported into this country by America, could ever in any way injure us; but he felt that if the house did prevent the importation of almost the only article we obtained from that country, if it did appear to say that it availed itself of the first opportunity of excluding the only article that they were enabled to send us, America would conceive the measure arising from some lurking animosity, and this country would lay itself open to the danger of retaliation, which would indefinitely outweigh any evil that might be dreaded by our millers." This language he held in 1827; this language he held now. (Hear, hear.)

The millers of this country had the advantage of grinding the whole, or very nearly the whole, of the bread stuffs imported into this country, as well as all our home-grown wheat. Taking the average of wheat grown in this country yearly to be 22,000,000 quarters—with respect to grinding that large amount, the English millers had a monopoly, and it was utterly impossible that, in this respect, any foreign millers could compete with them. Then, with respect to grinding any foreign wheat which might be imported, they had a monopoly also. His noble friend anticipated great improvements in our commercial intercourse from the adoption of his proposal; but he begged his noble friend to recollect that flour labored under some disadvantages in respect of importation, which must be taken into account, as weighing against these advantages. Flour was not so well fitted for bonding as wheat. This was one point; and, then, though it might be true that 196 pounds of fine flour could not be produced from 38½ gallons of wheat, nevertheless, if they took the seconds produced, in addition to the fine, he felt convinced that, estimating according to the cost, the protection would be amply sufficient.

Mr. Horsman thought the corn laws unjust in principle, and that the ministerial plan would settle nothing—even a large body of its supporters did

not approve of it. As to the danger arising from a dependance on other countries for food, he asked, what, after all, is this danger? Is it a greater evil than the dependance we now suffer? What says the committee of 1833? The right honorable gentleman, the member for Dorchester, was a member of that committee; and Mr. Jacobs's evidence on this head was so valuable and so startling, that it was extracted from the body of the evidence, and introduced into the report itself. Mr. Jacobs, after speaking of the produce of this country in average years, is then asked of a scarce year this question: "Supposing the harvest of 1816 was to come over again, whence do you contemplate a supply?" He answered, "We could not be supplied from all the world. If that harvest were to come over again, and the next harvest were deficient by one tenth, we should have such a deficiency as all the world could not supply at any price." This, then, is your state of dependance and risk now, under your present narrow and injudicious system. But supposing we do become dependant on foreigners, what, after all, is the evil? We must be dependant on some one, and amid the vicissitudes of climate and seasons, of which the right honorable baronet told us, it is better to be dependant on the world at large than on one small island—better to depend on the foreign producer, who will sell us bread cheap, than on the home producer, who will only sell it dear. Talk to me of the evils of dependance; the certain and inevitable evils which we daily and hourly experience from being at the mercy of our home monopolists, outweigh a thousand times all the imaginary ones which sophistry or selfishness can conjure up to frighten us with.

"In 1837, under the operation of these laws, you had distress in the Highlands—a distress unprecedented—thousands perishing for want of bread. At the very moment when representations of this distress were crowding upon the Government, some merchants in London, who had a quantity of wheat in bond, and who found that its being kept in warehouse was an accumulating loss to them, asked permission of the Government to take it out of bond and to destroy it. The permission was given; the wheat was sunk in the Thames, under the inspection of the custom-house officers; and that occurred at one end of the kingdom of which a portion of the subjects were starving at another. What a commentary is this upon your corn law? If it had not been for the care of our landlords to make these people independent of foreigners, this corn would have saved many a poor family from starvation."

Mr. Cobden complained that out of seven nights' debate scarcely two hours had been given to the subject of the bread tax.

Our trade with China, the war in Syria, the bandying of compliments between parties and partisans, had occupied their attention much and often, but very little had been said on the question really before the House. He might venture to say that not one speaker on the other side of the House had yet grappled with the question so ably propounded by his honorable friend—which was: How far, how just, how honest, and how expedient it was to have any tax whatever laid upon the food of the people. That was the question to be decided, and when he heard the right honorable baronet so openly express his deep sympathy for the working classes of this country, he expected that the right honorable baronet would not have finished his last speech on this question without at least giving some little consideration to the claims of the working man in connexion with the corn laws.

The people understood the subject, and were not to be hoodwinked.

They knew that high prices did not produce high wages, and therefore they had from the first opposed these laws.

The great multitude of the nation, without the aid of learning, said, with that instructive and intuitive sagacity which had given rise to the adage, "The voice of the people is the voice of God," what the effect of the measure would be upon wages; and therefore it was that when that law was passed that House was surrounded by the multitudes of London, whom they were compelled to keep from their doors by the point of the bayonet. Yes, and no sooner was the law passed than there arose disturbances and tumults everywhere, and in London bloodshed and murder ensued; for a coroner's jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against the soldiers who were called out, and fired upon the people. The same hostility to the measure spread throughout the whole of the north of England; so that then, from the year 1815 down to 1819, when the memorable meeting was held at Petersfield, in Manchester, there never was a great public meeting at which there was not borne banners inscribed with the words, "No corn laws."

And this hostility was even greater at the present time; for the House must not suppose that because the anti corn law league had sometimes got into collision with the chartists that therefore the working men were favorable to the corn laws. The ignorance of the House upon this subject was much greater than that of the laboring classes.

Did they think that the fallacy of 1815, which he had heard put forth so boldly last week, that wages rose and fell with the price of bread, could now prevail on the minds of working men, after the experience of the last three years? Had not the price of bread been higher during that time than for any three consecutive years for the last twenty years? And yet trade had suffered a greater decline in every branch of industry than in any preceding three years. Still there were honorable gentlemen on the other side of the House, with the reports of committees in existence and before them proving all this, prepared to support a bill, which, in their ignorance—for he could not call it anything else—they believed would keep up the price of labor.

It was not true that the price of labor was lower in other countries than in England; he was prepared to prove, from documents emanating from that House, that labor was cheaper here than on the continent.

But he would ask those who dissented, did they consider the quality of the labor? By this test, which was the only fair one, it would be proved that all the labor of England was the cheapest labor in the world. The committee on machinery, last session but one, demonstrated that fact beyond all dispute. They reported that labor on the continent was actually dearer than in England, in every branch of industry. Spinners, manufacturers, machine-makers, all agreed that one Englishman on the continent was worth three native workmen—whether in Germany, France, or Belgium. If they were not, would Englishmen be found in every large country on the continent? Let them go to any populous place, from Calais to Vienna, and they would not visit any city with 10,000 inhabitants without finding Englishmen who were earning thrice the wages the natives earned, and yet their employers declared that they were the cheapest laborers.

He denied that low wages proved the prosperity of the manufacturer, but the contrary; and he told the House, that if we, as a nation, wished to lead the way in arts and manufactures, we must take care the people are

well fed. It was said that we were now, with the corn law, able to compete with foreigners.

That was true; but how? By taxing the bones and muscles of the people to double the amount of good supposed to be done to them by the corn laws. A double weight being put upon them, they were told to run a race with the laborers of Germany and France. They exulted in a people who could labor so; but, he would ask, whose were the energies which belonged to the British people—their own property, or that of others? Think you that for giving them an opportunity merely to strive and struggle for an existence, you may take one half of what they earn? Is that doing justice to the high-mettled racer? You do not treat your horses so; you give them food, at all events, in proportion to their strength and their toil. But Englishmen, actually, are worse treated; tens of thousands of them were, last winter, worse off than your horses.

The committee then divided, and the numbers were:

For Sir R. Peel's motion - - - - - -	306
Against it - - - - - - -	104
Majority - - - - - - - -	202

The several items of Sir R. Peel's scale were then agreed to, and progress was reported to the House.

TABLE XV.

The following is a comparative statement of the duty by the act of 1828, *with the ministerial plan.*

Wheat.	Old duty.	New duty.
s. *s.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.*
50 to 51	36 8	20
51 to 52	35 8	19
52 to 53	34 8	18
53 to 54	33 8	
54 to 55	32 8	
55 to 56	31 8	17
56 to 57	30 8	16
57 to 58	29 8	15
58 to 59	28 8	14
59 to 60	27 8	13
60 to 61	26 8	12
61 to 62	25 8	11
62 to 63	24 8	10
63 to 64	23 8	9
64 to 65	22 8	8
65 to 66	21 8	7
66 to 67	20 8	6
69 to 68	18 8	
68 to 69	16 8	
67 to 70	13 8	5
70 to 71	10 8	4
71 to 72	6 8	3
72 to 73	2 8	2
73 and above.	1 0	1

RECEPTION OF THE PLAN BY THE PEOPLE.

The way in which the new corn law propositions are met by many of the people of Great Britain can be seen in the following compilation of facts from a Liverpool paper :

"*Reception of the new sliding scale by the country.*—Two large meetings have been held at Manchester, at one of which the mayor, and at the other Alderman Brooks presided, on the all-engrossing topic of the corn laws. Resolutions for the dismissal of the present ministers, and in favor of universal suffrage, were adopted. On Monday evening a large crowd proceeded through some of the streets of the town, with an effigy of Sir R. Peel, holding in his hand a copy of the Times. After walking in procession through Market street and several other thoroughfares, the crowd, which amounted to 3,000 or 4,000 persons, proceeded to the New Cross, where the man of straw was burnt amid the cheers of the multitude. At Leicester a figure, representing the minister of monopoly, was carried through some parts of the town, and then taken to the Market-place, and burnt. Another effigy of the same unpopular individual was paraded, on a pole, through a number of streets. This figure, instead of being burnt, was knocked down, and pulled to pieces. At Rochdale great excitement prevailed, and the effigy of Sir R. Peel was publicly burnt amid the execrations of thousands ; it was first paraded through the streets, with music, banners, placards, and lighted torches. The people of Hanley and Shelton got up an effigy of Peel, and paraded it through the principal streets, with drum and fife, then fixing it on an elevated spot, they discharged thirty or forty pistol shots and set fire to it. At Northampton it was intended to burn the effigy of Sir R. Peel, on the Market Hill, when a vast concourse proceeded to parade the town with a drum and effigy. The police interfered, and took three of the ringleaders, with the effigy, to the Town Hall, where the magistrates were sitting. Immediately an attack was commenced, almost every window was broken, and the door of the Hall broken in, but the mob was prevented entering by a strong body of police. They next proceeded to the house of one of the tory magistrates, near the Hall, and broke every window in the house. Many persons were hurt, and the town was in the greatest state of agitation. About thirty are taken into custody, and one hundred soldiers arrived. At a very numerous meeting, held at Salford, resolutions were adopted against the taxes on food, as opposed to the bounty of Providence and the good of mankind ; in favor of universal suffrage, and for a practical and active resistance to the exaction of taxes levied on the people for class interests. A resolution was also adopted, pledging the meeting not to hold Bank of England notes in their possession for twenty-four hours, without exchanging them for gold, until Parliament shows its willingness to commence a real redress of the people's grievances. Immediately after Sir R. Peel's corn bill had become known at Wigan, a memorial, petition, and protest against it, collected 4,000 signatures in less than twenty-four hours. At Stalybridge, a day and a half brought 3,600 signatures. At Derby, 6,336 names were appended in eleven hours. At Manchester, the declarations of 'want of confidence in the Government and the House of Commons, as at present constituted,' and demanding the suffrage, received upward of ten thousand signatures in eight hours. At the end of the second day it received more than 25,000 signatures. At Stockport, upward of 3,000 people assembled,

and the meeting was the most unanimous that has for a long time been held in Stockport. The Chartists, who had hitherto been opposed to all the proceedings of the corn law repealers, now joined heart and hand with them; all party feeling was cast aside. At Walsall, the inhabitants met to denounce the ministerial plan. Every part of the building was crammed to suffocation, and an immense number were obliged to remain outside or retire. The interest of the meeting was enhanced by its being known that the Chartists intended to disturb the proceedings, but they failed. In the metropolis, numerous meetings have been held, at which, with the exception of Southwark, the proceedings were conducted with enthusiasm and unanimity. At Nottingham, on Monday evening, the effigies of Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Buckingham, were publicly burnt in the open market-place. An immense crowd of people assembled and proceeded up Peck-lane into the market-place, round which they walked in procession. Nothing could be more orderly than the whole of the proceedings, which were conducted with much solemnity. At Darlington, a public meeting was held on Tuesday night, when a petition was adopted against the ministerial measure. At Gateshead, the mayor, in compliance with a requisition from the inhabitants (which bears the signatures both of whigs and chartists) has convened a public meeting for Monday, to take Sir Robert Peel's proposition into consideration, and petition the Commons thereupon. On Thursday, the effigy of Sir Robert was burnt in the market-place at Hull, in presence of nearly 20,000 spectators."

With regard to the effect of this system upon the wheat trade of this country, your memorialist is, perhaps, not the best qualified to judge. The opinions of practical men differ. The more prevalent expectation seems to be, that it will rather increase the sale of American wheat, partly by giving greater stability to the moderately high range of prices, and partly by lowering the average at which the moderate duties, say 6*s.* and under, are allowed to attach. It will be found that of the thirteen and a half millions of quarters entered since July, 1828, under the old scale, about two millions, or 14 per cent., paid 6*s.* 8*d.* duty, which was the duty on an average price of 71*s.* to 72*s.* By the new scale, the duty of 6*s.* attaches to an average of 66*s.*, or 5*s.* lower. Again, 820,000 quarters, or 6 per cent. of the whole, were entered at 10*s.* 8*d.*, the average being from 70*s.* to 71*s.* Now, wheat at 61*s.* to 62*s.* pays but 11*s.* That the present ministry desire, and confidently expect to favor the American trade, your memorialist is informed and confidently believes, and that if the present change proves insufficient for *that* object, further modifications or a total repeal will be resorted to for securing that most essential point. Sir Robert Peel, in his speech at Tamworth, said:

"One of the best consumers we have for our manufactures is the United States of America, a country with which I trust we shall long maintain the intimate relationship of friendship and peace. (Great cheers.) And, gentlemen, I do hope that neither country—that or this—will be mad enough to quarrel about a boundary line, when peace can be preserved without detriment to the honor of either, for the preservation of national honor should be always the first consideration. And I do further hope that the good sense and moderation of both countries will avert any quarrel between two nations who boast of a common origin, who speak the same language, and between whom any collision could not take place without materially affecting the warm, the best interests of humanity all over the globe." (Hear.)

The latest commercial advices from England, June 3, 1842, give the information that American flour has been entered for consumption at the rate of 12*s.* duty per quarter, which is nearly 20 per cent. on the *home*, or English valuation, prices averaging from 60*s.* to 61*s.*

But whatever may be the effect of the present law, there can be no doubt that something has been gained by the fact of a change. It is a giving way of old prejudices. The corn law is no longer invested with the character of unchangeableness. It has lost the charm of inviolability. It has been changed once, and can be the more early changed again. It is uprooted from its firm foundations. It no longer stands as the *ne plus ultra* of political skill, but is admitted by its supporters to be a thing that may be varied with the change of circumstances, or improved by the advance of knowledge. Such a concession, under all the circumstances of the case, can not but be encouraging to the friends of repeal. The Circular says:

"It is good tactics when you see a wavering in the enemy's lines, to select that moment for a charge *en masse*. When an obstructive political party hesitates and speaks of concession, hurl the whole force of your collective will and reason against it. Now this is the time to show that the nation—not a few scattered coteries—is in earnest, demanding the repeal of the bread tax. Now is the moment for producing every fact, every argument, that goes to prove the utter worthlessness of any tampering with the bread tax that stops short of total abolition. The most incessant and energetic reproduction of these facts and arguments will be necessary to show the party demanding the parley that they can do themselves no good by granting, and the party demanding the repeal of the bread tax that they can do nothing by partial concessions. In civil contests, it is in the moment of approaching success that the greatest efforts are requisite to tread down the last remnants of opposition, and to keep the conquerors from disbanding before their ends are completely attained.

"We are not always making no progress when we can not at the moment see visible effects of our efforts. When Sir Christopher Wren was demolishing the old St. Paul's, to lay the foundations of the new, he brought a battering ram to bear upon a particularly obstinate piece of wall. For two long days did his workmen keep knocking away, and, to all appearance, the wall remained as strong and solid as ever. The men murmured, and could scarcely be brought to resume their labors. But the scientific knowledge of their master revealed to him the internal friction which must have been at work beneath so many repeated blows. He forced them to begin again on the third day, and almost at the first light stroke of the machine the wall crumbled, and fell down into a heap of fragments."

CONVENTION OF DELEGATES IN LONDON.

The anti corn law associations held a general convention of delegates in London, which was in session at the time Sir Robert Peel introduced his motion. About 600 assembled on the 8th of February, which number was afterward increased to upward of one thousand men, from all parts of the empire. They respectfully requested an interview with the minister, on the subject of the repeal of the corn laws, to which request they received a brief and flat refusal—"Sir Robert Peel desires me to express his regret that it is not in his power, on account of the pre-engagements into which he has entered, to make the appointment you desire." The next day, after spending

the morning in deliberation, they went in procession to the House of Commons, walking two by two. Many of the gentlemen held cards, inscribed with the object of the assemblage, conspicuously up for the information of those of the passengers who seemed somewhat astonished at the long array of gentlemen defiling past. The procession consisted of upward of 600, and extended from the Crown and Anchor to past Somerset house. Upon the arrival of the delegates at St. Stephen's, they stopped on either side of the door opening into the lobby of the house, and application was made by the chairman for the admission within the lobby of at least a few of the members of the conference. The application was, however, most flatly refused. The most urgent entreaty was used, but without the slightest effect, and the delegates were most rudely hustled by the police as they stood upon the pavement opposite the house. While they remained here, all the members who passed into the house were saluted with cries of "a total repeal," "cheap food," &c. The *Morning Chronicle* says, "It was a striking sight to observe representatives of the productive classes from every part of the kingdom—from town and country—from the pursuers of every sort of industry, waiting together at the door of the people's house to assure its members of the distress which existed, and to implore them to use their power to mitigate it." Finding that it was impossible to obtain admission within the doors of the house, and that their applications to that effect were treated with as little ceremony as was their request for an interview with the Premier the day before, the delegates drew off from the doors of the house, and assembled in Palace yard. Mr. Prentice, of Manchester, then mounted to an elevated situation, and said, "The doors of the lobby are closed against us by order of those in power. It is impossible for us to get in to address the members as they pass. The corn laws were passed under the protection of the bayonet, and the tories now ensconce themselves behind the truncheons of the police (loud cheers). But the time is fast coming when the voice of the people will be heard, and their oppressors will quail before it. Let us give three hearty cheers for the cause of free trade!" The cheers were then given with right good will, and the delegates withdrew.

As soon as they had ascertained the nature of the ministerial plan, they met, and, after consultation, adopted a resolution:

"That, in the opinion of this meeting, the measure just announced by her Majesty's Government, on the subject of the corn laws, so far from holding out the slightest prospect of any relief of the distress of the country, is an insult to a patient and suffering people; and the deputies view such a proposal as an indication that the landed aristocracy of this country are destitute of all sympathy for the poor, and are resolved, if permitted by an outraged people, to persist in a course of selfish policy, which will involve the destruction of every interest in the country.

"That the anti corn law associations throughout the United Kingdom, and all other friends to an immediate and total abolition of all duties and restrictions upon the necessary food of the people, are earnestly requested to take measures for expressing, without delay, in every constitutional manner, their hostility to the proposed measure of her Majesty's Government, and their fixed and unalterable determination not to relax in their exertions until a measure of complete justice is obtained; and to consent to no compromise of the sacred principle upon which the agitation for the abolition of the corn laws is based."

On Thursday, a very exciting meeting was held. Mr. Taylor, on taking

the chair, announced to the convention that the great anti corn law bazar at Manchester, had already realized ten thousand pounds. Mr. Sidney Smith said that 994 petitions had been presented to Parliament against the corn laws, and only ten in their favor.

On Friday, after a series of speeches, Mr. Joseph Sturge came forward and was received with cordial cheering. He concluded an urgent appeal to the delegates to exert themselves with energy for total repeal, by moving the following resolution:

"That the delegates assembled having denounced the corn and provision laws of this country as a national sin, inflicting incalculable suffering upon the industrious classes, and enormous evils on the community at large, pledge themselves, and earnestly recommend the constituency of the United Kingdom, not again to support any member of the House of Commons who does not vote for the total and immediate repeal of this obnoxious law."

On Saturday, numerous letters were read from all parts of the country, expressive of a general determination to oppose the Government plan in every lawful way. One letter, from Manchester, stated that at a meeting of ladies, held at that place on Friday, the following proposition was agreed to, viz: "We, the undersigned, ladies of the bazar committee, resolve, that we will form ourselves into a provisional committee, to carry out a plan of passive resistance, and for forwarding such other measures as the conference at present sitting in London may deem best, for the obtaining of the total and immediate repeal of the corn laws. That by passive resistance we understand, that we will allow our furniture to be seized for the payment of assessed taxes (vehement cheering and waving of hats, the entire audience rising and giving three cheers for the ladies of Manchester, and one cheer more) without offering any resistance to the collecting officers, at the same time urging the people not to purchase the articles so seized. And further, we mean abstinence from the several taxed luxuries used in our homes. We adopt the above pledge for three months, and further pledge ourselves during that time, to use our utmost exertions to preserve perfect peace among the people" (vehement cheers). The reading of the correspondence took up some time; after which, Joseph Hume, Esq., addressed the meeting at some length, urging upon them to agitate for total repeal.

Various measures were also adopted for carrying out the objects of the convention.

UNION OF MIDDLING CLASSES AND CHARTISTS.

One of the effects of this complete disclosure of Sir Robert Peel's plan was, the consummation of a scheme which had been in agitation for some months, designed to unite the middling class, who were engaged in the anti-corn-law cause, with the working-men, who were pressing for the right of universal suffrage. Some meetings had already been held on the subject; but the most important was a meeting of anti-corn-law delegates and others, held in London, February 11, on a call from Joseph Sturge. Among those who attended were the following well-known gentlemen: Joseph Sturge, Esq.; Sharman Crawford, M. P.; Dr. Madden, Dublin; George Thompson; John Bright, Rochdale; A. Prentice, Manchester; William Ibbotson, Sheffield; Rev. Mr. Bailey, Sheffield; Rev. Mr. Benton, Kelso; Rev. Mr. Owen, Staffordshire; Rev. Thomas Spencer, Bath; Rev. Mr. Cairns, Paisley; Rev. Mr. Lowe, Forfar; Mr. Hickin, Manchester; John

Childs, Bungay; Joseph Corbett, Birmingham; Hamer Stansfeld, Leeds; Edward Baxter, Dundee; Josiah Conder, London; Nathaniel Griffin, Esq.; William Boultbee, Birmingham; Mr. Curtis, Ohio; Stafford Allen, Esq.; Dr. Perry, Boston; Lawrence Heyworth, Esq., Liverpool; John Dunlop, Esq., Edinburg; Edward Lankester, M. D.; C. E. Rawlins, Esq., Liverpool; Mr. Henry Hetherington; Mr. Edward Watkins, Manchester; Mr. William Lovett.

The Rev. T. Spencer advocated an extension of the suffrage. He had great confidence in the working-men, and the chief mischief in the country was the want of it. In the higher classes there was an unnecessary suspicion of them, and that was because people were apt to judge others by themselves. Those who had sinecures and pensions, and brought up their families to the army and navy, and, by the law of primogeniture, fattened on the spoils of others, think that other classes, if they had the same power as themselves, would use it in the same manner. But before they put the working-men in the possession of power, they would be sure that they should not have the same power of abusing it. They would not have the law of primogeniture, and he was sure that Mr. Sturge would agree to this, that they would have less war, and less army and navy. These evils had been ascribed to over-production; he was disposed to think there had been an over-production of one commodity—there had been an over-production of laws [loud cheers]! He should like to see a Parliament that, for two or three sessions, would do nothing but destroy laws, instead of making them. They had laws which meddled with everything—with their money, their religion [hear, hear, and cheers], and with their trade, and with everything they could mention. If the working-men were admitted to power, he hoped they would guard against meddling with too many things. The grand thing was to protect person and property, and leave everything else alone.

The Rev. Mr. Young, of Andover, urged the necessity of union between the working and the middle classes. The union was a natural one. The working-men stood in need of the capitalist, and it was the energy of the working-men that made capital valuable. How was it, then, they had become separated? Each party had committed faults, and in order to become reunited, they should look each other boldly in the face, and see what were the faults they had committed. As a middle class man, he would at once admit that, too many of the middle classes had looked too much to their own interest. But while he admitted this, he must say that the working classes had also committed faults [cries of "Hear, hear."] He went fully with them into the suffrage question, but he thought they were in fault in seeking to postpone the corn-law question to the suffrage question.

Mr. A. Prentice would not have addressed the meeting, had it not been for the conclusion of the address of the last speaker. The demand for the suffrage ought not to be contingent on the failure of any other demand. The agitation for the suffrage was not now to be begun; it had begun long since; and he protested against postponing it for corn-law agitation, as he did against postponing corn-law agitation to suffrage agitation. His desire was not to see one agitation displacing the other, but to see the two going on collaterally.

Mr. Palliser had begun life as a working-man, and now he was one of the middle classes, possessing a voice in returning eight members to Parlia-

ment, in different places, a right which no man ought to possess. He thought working-men had shown their wisdom in standing still, as they had done in regard to the corn-law agitation. He had formerly been of a different opinion; but he now saw that they were right, and the event had shown it. Once bit, twice shy; and as they had been deceived on the occasion of the Reform bill, they were not again to be caught [cheers]. What could they expect from a House of Commons constituted like the present? What they wanted was a House of Commons representing the majority of the people, and not the few [hear, hear, and loud cheers]—not one which legislated to take money out of the pockets of the people, to put it into their own. Since 1815, the land-owners, who composed the Parliament, had trebled their rents. What was the remedy for this class legislation? Why, an extension of suffrage [cheers], with vote by ballot [loud cheers], and equal electoral districts [cheers]. That was what himself and friends, in the parish of St. Luke, had petitioned for, in addition to a total repeal of the corn laws [cheers]. The chartists in his district had joined with them, and he had always found them men of good, sound, common sense. He called upon the middle and working classes to follow their example, and to unite to obtain the complete suffrage, and to put an end to class legislation.

Mr. Miall, of London, said that when he found Sir Robert Peel, in spite of the distress of the people, dismissing the Parliament for four months, he was convinced that the time was come to attack the legislating power, and that an agitation for corn law repeal was not the surest way of reaching the end. That the only way of remedying this state of things was by giving a prominent place to the suffrage movement [hear]. At the same time he would not desist from agitating the corn-law question. The anti-corn-law league, by their agitation, did good to the suffrage movement. They opened the eyes of the people; and he believed, verily, that that agitation had done more to forward the suffrage movement, among the middle classes, than anything else. But that agitation had now been going on for three years. They had had their meetings, their conferences, their bazars, and what effect had they produced upon the aristocracy? Why, just let them look at the recent measure which had been flung in their faces. They could not obtain repeal by simple repeal agitation. Before they did that, they must have a broader base to rest upon. They required some stronger lever, to move the aristocracy, than any they had yet worked, and they could only find that lever in an extension of the suffrage. He would be no party to any such delusion as that of asking the working classes to postpone the agitation for the suffrage to the anti-corn-law agitation, on an understanding that the middle classes would assist them afterward in obtaining the suffrage. The gentleman who had recommended that course to them might be sincere for himself; but if the middle classes did not obtain the abolition of the corn laws, they would not, he was persuaded, countenance any suffrage movement. They objected to it now as a means to an end; but if the end were once obtained, could any man pretend that they would like the means better? [cheers]. Upon another subject he was desirous of saying a few words. He wished to explain why he deemed it wiser to agitate for the suffrage alone. He was for the extension of the suffrage, because every man was entitled to it. Every man had a right to it [cheers]. He demanded it for every man as a right [cheers]. Now, if that right were fully, fairly, and honestly recognised, he could see no pre-

tence—he could see neither the wisdom nor the necessity for postponing the acceptance of that right, until a number of other things, which were deemed expedient, were also granted. He agreed in opinion with all the points mentioned in the charter. Bnt there was one only which could be properly recognised as a right—the others were matters of opinion. He regarded it as the wisest plan, among many things which all admitted to be desirable, to select for agitation just that one which carried within it the germe of all the rest, and which, being based on a principle of equity, might be urged upon the consciences of the middle classes. This was the case with complete suffrage. It was a simple question of "Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you." Upon this he could appeal to the religious sense of men, and wield the morality and benevolence of the country. Therefore, he would urge the working-men to concede, for a time, a few matters of expediency, which would be easily settled when once they had obtained this matter of right. Let the middle classes go on with the anti-corn-law movement; but they would never succeed unless they joined the suffrage movement with it. Neither the middle nor the working classes were sufficiently powerful, alone, to carry their point; but by uniting, they would break the yoke beneath which they now groaned [loud cheers].

On the same evening, a most important meeting was held in Manchester, the seat of the anti-corn-law agitation, in which, after discussing Sir Robert Peel's proposal, it was determined, as the only means of uniting the people and compelling the Government to consult the national welfare, instead of the interests of a class, to demand universal suffrage. The meeting was attended by a number of highly respectable merchants and manufacturers, and a declaration was adopted by them, which has been exposed for signature, and the number of names attached to it on Saturday, in about eight hours, was upward of ten thousand. It was despatched to London on that evening. The correspondent of the Morning Chronicle says: "These signatures include the names of some of our very first houses, and, from personal observation, I can assure you I have seen men affix their names to it who, a month ago, would as soon have thought of taking up arms in open rebellion." The declaration is addressed to the Government and the members of the House of Commons; and after setting forth the exertions of the manufacturers to promote the welfare of the community, and the ruinous effects of the tax on food, thus proceeds:

"Of this insulting proposition, we feel bound to express our unequivocal indignation; and convinced as we are, that nothing less than the total and immediate repeal of all laws which interfere with the free and unlimited importation of the food of the people, will preserve this nation from anarchy and ruin—and having lost all confidence in the Government and the House of Commons, as at present constituted—and desiring not only the repeal of bad laws already existing, but also a guarantee for good government for the future—and anxious to avoid those unhappy outbreaks which must inevitably result from the continued oppression and starvation of the people—and feeling convinced that no effectual remedies will be applied, until the power of applying them be lodged in the hands of the people—we respectfully but firmly demand that the franchise be forthwith extended to every man who is twenty-one years of age, of sound mind, unstained by crime, together with the privilege of secret voting, and such other matters of detail as may be found necessary to the honest and practical working of the principle."

The object of abolishing "class legislation," as it is called, by extending the right of suffrage "TO EVERY MAN WHO IS TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE, OF SOUND MIND, UNSTAINED BY CRIME," together with the vote by ballot, is now adopted for the united efforts of all who are opposed to the landholder's monopoly.

Of the probability of success in effecting so great a change in the organic character of the government of a great nation, it does not become your memorialist to speak. It is at least not inconsistent with decorum, for republicans to desire that the period may be hastened, as rapidly as is consistent with this state of things, when so great an advancement of popular rights may be peacefully established in that kingdom. There are great resources of influence now enlisted in its favor, men of singular wisdom, energy, and integrity, with ample wealth, learning, eloquence, and all the means of political reform. They have determined hearts, and a deep conviction that no other course is left to them and to the country but reform or ruin. Says one of their leading men:

"Short of this, short of an entire remodelling of our present legislative machinery, it would be folly to rest. The conduct of those in power—the refusal of Sir Robert Peel to receive the anti corn law deputation, upon the frivolous pretext of prior engagements—the rude and insulting exclusion of the delegates from the lobby of the House of Commons—but especially the measure which, after five months' deliberation, the cabinet has ventured to submit to Parliament—will open the eyes of the dullest-sighted, as to the futility of all efforts to wring from oppressors a remedy for oppression. 'A corrupt tree bringeth forth corrupt fruit.' We can not fetch blood out of a post. Men placed in power by class constituencies, and for the protection and maintenance of class interests, can not be expected to consult the general good. Beneficial measures may once in a generation be wrested from them by intimidation; but that form of government which can only be made to work for the people, by the application of a pressure from without just short of the explosive point, is about the worst and most dangerous which can be constructed."

But whatever may be the result in regard to the suffrage, your memorialist believes that this movement will hasten the repeal of the corn laws, as a matter of policy on the part of the land-owners, to pacify discontent by concession, when other means have failed. The two agitations will move on in harmony. If the suffrage is carried, the corn laws will be repealed by the popular Parliament. If that is postponed, it will be by the landlords themselves repealing the corn laws.

Among the reasons for believing that the corn law question is not yet settled in England, one is, that all the causes of agitation remain in full and unmitigated force. The very latest accounts show that the depression of the manufacturing interest, the depression of trade, and the distress and misery of the working classes continue unabated. A few recent facts will show that the necessity of a change is still as urgent as ever.

In Bradford, Wilts, in twenty years, the number of factories in operation is reduced from thirteen down to two, and the wages which, twenty years ago, ranged from 18 shillings to 30 shillings a week, are now from 12 shillings to 18 shillings per week, with full work, which, however, is rarely obtained by the workmen.

At Mitcham, Surry, a statement was published a few months ago, by an anti corn law meeting, that, "in the year 1820 there were thirteen print-

works on the river Wandle, in full and active employ; at the present time there are only six print-works, and those not half employed. In 1820 there were upward of 3,000 persons fully employed in the same; at the present time there are not more than 450 persons engaged at them, and they are not half employed. In 1820 there were paid per week in the same £3,000 wages. At the present time £100 per week is the highest rate that has been paid; while, for a considerable period, it did not reach £200 per week. In 1820 there were exported to Prussia 4,519,676 yards of printed and dyed calico. In 1838 there were only 430 yards of dyed, printed, and white calicoes exported to the same place. 1838 is the last year in which the returns were made up. From 1820 to 1838 there has been a falling off of printed and dyed calicoes, exported to Germany, of upward of eight millions of yards. A large portion of the printed calicoes sent to Prussia and Germany were printed in this district. The corn laws have been the means of our losing the manufacturing, printing, and dyeing, upward of twelve and a half millions yards of calicoes, through our refusing to take in exchange for our manufactured goods the Prussians' and Germans' timber and corn. They now manufacture for themselves, and rival us in the neutral markets."

Haslingden, *June* 8.—This part of the country is in a deplorable state, for hundreds and thousands have neither work nor meat. They are daily begging in our streets, twenty or thirty together, crying for bread. Meetings are held every Sunday on the neighboring hills, attended by thousands of poor, haggard, hungry people, wishing for any change, even though it should be death. On Sunday last, a meeting was held on the hills, near Accrington, and the persons present, it is said, covered an area of 4,420 square yards of ground; so that, calculating six to the square yard, there must have been 26,000 person spresent. The speakers, ten in number, were violent, advising their hearers never to petition Parliament again, but be determined to have a redress of grievances immediately. Resolutions were put to the meeting, and carried unanimously. The people say they are determined to have their just rights, or die in the attempt; and say they will neither support delegates nor conventions, for present relief they want, and present relief they will have before another winter makes its appearance. They say they might as well die by the sword as by hunger.

Huddersfield, *June* 15.—For want of avenues of trade abroad, and the immense amount of poverty at home, in vain do the commercial energies of this country struggle. Nothing but a reciprocity between nation and nation can give permanent relief. For want of this, notwithstanding the high pitch of our manufactures, the low prices, and the amazing variety of our fabrics, there is a very small demand for any description of goods. In the warehouses there is an unusual dullness, and the mills are chiefly kept at work to support the operatives.

House of Lords, *June* 16, 1842.—The Earl of Radnor, in moving for the return of corn allowed to be imported at a low duty, in 1826, called the attention of their lordships to the present alarming distress of the people. The poor of Sheffield had increased, to quote one instance, from 261 in 1837, to 600 in the present year, beside 1,000 able-bodied men receiving out-door relief. The weekly payments to the casual poor had increased from £715 in 1837, to £15,000 at present. The Duke of Wellington admitted the distress, but found no remedy for it. Lord Kinnaird expressed his regret that the government would do nothing, and quoted a case of a

man who had dismissed 500 out of 1,000 workmen, who said he could not keep the remainder.

London, *June* 17.—That our stocks of home-grown wheat are very short in all parts of England no longer admits of a doubt; and so completely are the granaries exhausted in Ireland, that the utmost distress prevails there, and shipments are now in progress from most of the ports along our western coast to the sister island. In this state of things, any material decline from the present prices can scarcely be expected, particularly as the importers of foreign still refrain from paying duty, except in retail qualities. All descriptions of spring corn seem likely to advance considerably in value, unless we have a speedy change of weather; already prices have crept up at most of the leading provincial markets held during the week. While drought is so much complained of in England, it appears from our Scotch and Irish advices, that partial showers had fallen lately in both those countries, and the rain having been accompanied by a high temperature, the growing grain crops had, we are informed, made rapid progress. From Scotland the reports are almost universally good; and from Ireland there are fewer complaints than usual, as far as regards the prospects for the future; but, while the fields hold out a promise of abundance, the barns and granaries have been nearly emptied of their contents, and the utmost misery prevails, owing to the scarcity of provisions in many parts of the island.—*Mark Lane Express.*

Manchester, *Friday evening*, *June* 19, 1842.—There never was a state of things like the present, so far as regards the price of cloth. Prices are now lower than ever, and ever since Tuesday, manufacturers, to effect sales, are compelled to do so at one per cent. decline, and prices are likely yet to go further down, nay, must do so, if the production is not greatly reduced. Twist is still good to sell, but in no case dearer. The home trade would be improved by an early and bountiful harvest—this is what most are now looking for as the only means of relief.

Leeds.—The London letter of the New York Journal of Commerce, June 3, 1842, says, the condition of the township of Leeds is most heart-rending. The following statement of the resources of the laborers, is given as the result of actual inquiry:

Table showing the average weekly income of laborers in the different wards of the township of Leeds, the average being less than 1 *shilling to each person.*

			Weekly income.
East	ward	2,179 persons, with a rate per head of	$8\frac{1}{2}$ pence.
South	"	363 " " "	$8\frac{1}{4}$
North	"	1,420 " " "	1*s.* $6\frac{1}{2}$
West	"	802 " " "	1*s.* $3\frac{1}{2}$
Northeast	"	3,137 " " "	$8\frac{3}{4}$
Mill hill	"	173 " " "	$8\frac{1}{4}$
Northwest	"	889 " " "	$8\frac{1}{8}$

Vale of Leven.—A committee which canvassed the vale in January, 1842, made the following statement of the condition of the people in that district:

Table showing the average wages of persons in the Vale of Leven, for twenty-eight weeks, ending January, 1842.

4	persons	at 7¾d.	per day.	96	persons	at 3½d.	per day.
2	"	7d.	"	10	"	3¼d.	"
6	"	6¾d.	"	89	"	3d.	"
11	"	6½d.	"	31	"	2¾d.	"
5	"	6d.	"	151	"	2½d.	"
21	"	5½d.	"	65	"	2¼d.	"
11	"	5¼d.	"	135	"	2d.	"
13	"	5d.	"	126	"	1¾d.	"
14	"	4¾d.	"	128	"	1½d.	"
10	"	4½d.	"	31	"	¾d.	"
11	"	4¼d.	"	28	"	½d.	"
31	"	4d.	"	9	"	¼d.	"
28	"	3¾d.	"	65	"	0d.	"

TRANSFER OF MANUFACTURES TO THE CONTINENT.

It appears that the corn laws are doing more to build up the manufacturing interests of other countries, than they could possibly do for themselves.

" 'As soon as I hear that a bale of goods,' said an eminent manufacturer to us some four years ago, 'is met in the markets of China or Peru by a similar article from Germany at a lower price, that instant I remove my establishment to the Tyrol—for I shall know well what is to follow.' The warning was given, and our informant acted on it; and his skill and his capital are now using the fine water powers of the Voralberg to aid the competition which he did not choose to encounter even when it was weaker. The contest, indeed, in some respects, resembles a civil war; the force that was to-day on one side, may to morrow, if the chances of success appear to have altered, be found on the other. The capital which to-day employs hundreds or thousands of British workmen, may to-morrow not merely leave them unemployed, but actually be on its way to set to work hundreds or thousands of their continental rivals."—*Edinburg Review, July*, 1841.

The London correspondent of the National Intelligencer, in a letter dated January 1, 1842, says:

"The British Government must, I think, very soon become convinced of the inutility, if not of the ruinous consequences of restrictions upon trade and commercial intercourse. On this head it may be sufficient to remark that their prohibitory laws against the exportation of machinery have led to the erection of establishments for the purpose of supplying the continental demand in nearly every part of Europe. If it was imagined that such an arrangement would prevent the continental nations from becoming acquainted with the nature of English mechanism, the supposition has been most signally disproved. *Seraing*, the far-famed establishment of Messrs. Cockerill, near *Liege*, is the largest of these establishments, employing in its various departments (which includes the mining of coal and iron ore) 2000 workmen, nearly all of whom are native Belgians. Thus, by their own suicidal act, in this establishment alone, have the British Government deprived 2,000 British artisans of regular employment and good wages; for all the work now done at *Seraing* by *Belgians* would, but for these

prohibitions, have been executed by British workmen at home. From *Seraing*, as from a great model establishment, has gone forth a host of skilled artificers, well versed in every respect with the English principles of division of labor and mechanic skill, who have planted similar concerns in other parts of Belgium. So far have Belgian skill and industry already advanced, that, in all articles prepared by individual taste and talent, she is greatly ahead of England; this is particularly the case in piano fortes and cabinet ware in general. In 1836 the number of iron founders, engineers, millwrights, and machine-makers, employed at Bolton, in Lancashire, was 2,110; in 1841 there was only 1,395; showing a falling off of 715, a considerable part of whom have left the country, some for the continent, others for the United States, carrying away their skill and experience to enrich the rivals of Great Britain in their respective branches of productive industry. Those who are now employed in Bolton have only four or five days' work in the week on an average."

NECESSITY OF A CHANGE.

The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, in his able pamphlet on the corn laws, for which he was appointed chaplain to the Queen, after describing the distresses of the poor, says:

"It is painful to reflect upon the consequences of this extended penury. *Numbers driven to a debasing mendicancy have lost all sincerity, and all self-respect; numbers are irritated against the state of society under which they suffer, and seem to welcome any symptoms which may arise of riot and revolution.* In town and country, in Great Britain and Ireland, the laborers are too numerous to be employed; and although willing to labor for their livelihood, they ask for work in vain. The competition for employment depresses the wages of those who are employed; while the rest, as Mr. Carlyle (I think) has said, are hedged up everywhere by property to starve; like horses turned out when no longer wanted for work, to graze on the dust of the roads, between brick walls and endless lines of buildings. To this hungry multitude, already goaded by want into rick-burning and trades-unions, into chartism, and every other expression of impatience at unendurable calamity, 400,000 beings are added year after year. What is to be done for them? Soup kitchens, tickets for coals and potatoes, mendicity societies, night asylums, and charity balls, or charity sermons, will not fatten their lean visages, nor furnish their empty dwellings, nor make them bless God for plenty. And yet God has provided plenty for them all. The earth would give a hundred fold more corn than they want; and they have strength, skill, and industry wherewith to purchase it."

The Edinburg Review raises a solemn note of warning.

"We have thought it probable that, as it has often happened before, while escape was possible, the danger would not be known or appreciated; and that, while we repealed the stamp act after the North American colonies were lost—as we emancipated the catholics after the affection of Ireland was forfeited—so we should liberalise our commercial code when the preservation of our trade has become impossible. Then, indeed, when half of our mills are stopped, and the others are working short time—when the ruin which has fallen on the hand-loom weavers shall have spread to the spinners, the power-loom weavers, the ship-builders, and the numberless trades that depend on our exports for their existence—when Man-

chester and Birmingham have to pray for rates in aid from the surrounding parishes, and can justify their application by showing their absolute inability to support their own poor—then, the voice of starving millions will be heard. Corn laws, and timber laws, and sugar laws, and differential duties, and sliding scales, will be swept away. But would these be the only sacrifices? Are we sure that the peerage, or the church, or even the monarchy, could resist the storm? Even if the worst extremities should be avoided, still the mischiefs of a sudden and total change, effected by such means, would be unutterable; and, in all probability, they would be endured in vain. Commerce and manufactures fly from the seat of a revolution: they languish under the mere fears of a revolution. In agricultural countries, like Spain or France, revolution, though it destroys the happiness and the morals of the existing generation, yet, in as far at least as the educated classes are concerned, it may leave the elements of future prosperity unimpaired. For Great Britain there are no such hopes; with her capital frightened away, and her fixed machinery destroyed, the value of her labor would sink at least to the general level of Europe. She might open her ports to corn, but she would be unable to purchase it; she might repeal her timber duties, but she would cease to be a great maritime power; she would become the abode of a potatoe-eating population, dense and miserable, and therefore formidable to its governors, but defenceless against exterior aggression. Under such circumstances could we retain our Indian empire? could we retain the union with Ireland? could we keep faith with the public creditor? could we preserve the resemblance of our present power, or of our present prosperity?"

It is clear to your memorialist, that Sir Robert Peel's corn law will not be able, as indeed it was not intended, to effect any considerable alteration of the condition of the poor, or a reduction of the average price of bread to the consumer. There must be another change to effect this. And it is highly probable that, if a proper course is taken by the United States, the next change will be a TOTAL REPEAL of the restrictions on the importation of provisions. It is impossible that such a change should not have the most enlivening effect upon trade in both countries. And with the increased ability of the poor of England to purchase a sufficiency of food, the extent of the demand for our agricultural products can not now be calculated. Let it be borne in mind that the aggregate importations of Great Britain for the three years, 1839, '40, and '41, amounted to 8,091,972 quarters, an average of 2,697,224 quarters annually; and for the four years, 1838, '39, '40, and '41, 9,463,929 quarters, an average of 2,365,732 quarters annually; and that this enormous importation has not sufficed to prevent immense numbers of people from suffering the miseries of starvation, while it is supposed that the great mass of laborers are but scantily and poorly fed—that the consumption of food is now limited not by the bodily wants of the people but their total inability to buy; that while the agricultural capacity of England is hardly advancing at all, the population is increasing at the rate of a thousand a day—the most sanguine expectation can hardly measure the extent of the demand both for bread stuffs and meat, which would arise from the restoration of prosperity to the working population of Great Britain. To enable our western farmers to enter the market with success with their meat and butter, it would then become necessary to take off the present salt tax, so as to give them the free use of sun-made salt in curing their provisions, that they may equal in quality the hams of Westphalia and the butter of Flanders.

Your memorialist has given this extended sketch of the anti corn law movement in England, for the purpose of exhibiting in full the evidence, which seems to be but partially understood in this country, of the powerful combination of interests now arrayed against the corn laws in England, and the certainty that success must take place at no distant period. It is therefore respectfully suggested, as a proper inference from this state of things, that policy, and justice, and humanity, require of us to show a readiness to meet the advance which is likely soon to be made on the other side, by a corresponding movement on our part. For us to adopt a vindictive or retaliatory system to countervail the corn laws would be to add to the poverty and misery which have already fallen upon the innocent laborers through those laws. It would be heaping new burdens upon those who are already crushed down to the earth. It would be increasing the danger that the laboring classes are already made too abject and feeble to accomplish the desired reform. It would be injuring most those who are seeking the same object with ourselves. Whereas, wisdom would dictate that our influence should be thrown, if possible, in favor of repeal.

PRODUCTION OF GRAIN IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE.

There is an impression very extensively prevailing in this country, that even the establishment of free trade in provisions would scarcely benefit the agricultural interests of the United States, because the markets would be controlled, and in fact chiefly supplied, from the nearer regions around the Baltic and the Black seas, where the difference of freight and the cheapness of production could give a decided advantage. It is not strange that a slight consideration of the price of labor and the distance of transportation should produce this impression; but it is quite fallacious, for the cheapness of land in this country, with the greater skill in management, more than counterbalances the low price of labor; and the perfection of our system of internal transportation and of freight by sea, will enable the farmer of the northwest to deliver his wheat and flour at Liverpool in fact cheaper than any other country. Only remove the obstructions, so as to create a regular demand, that our farmers may know what to depend on, and they would control the markets of England, for all the competition of the world beside.

But there is still another consideration in our favor. These countries can not meet the demand, and are incapable of increasing their production to do it. At the very time we are imagining that no benefit would accrue to us from the wheat trade, the political economists of England have been apparently driven to the conclusion that no great advantage will accrue to them from the opening of the trade, because they suppose there is no country that can furnish them any considerable supplies, even with free trade. To settle this question, the British Government has made two separate investigations,—one under the last and one under the present administration,—for the purpose of ascertaining, in the most accurate manner possible, the actual capabilities of all the European countries from which they are accustomed to import grain. Your memorialist is in possession of the returns of both these inquiries, and deems it appropriate to give a brief but full synopsis of the most material results.

The first inquiry was issued by Lord Palmerston, June 30th, 1840, addressed to her Majesty's consuls at St. Petersburg, Riga, Liebau, Odessa, Warsaw, Stockholm, Dantzic, Konigsberg, Stettin, Memel, Elsinore, Ham-

burg, Rotterdam, Antwerp, and Palermo, and required written answers to the following queries:

"1. What quantity of grain, of each kind, could be exported to England from the country or district in which you reside, if the trade in corn in England was made constantly open at a moderate duty?

"2. What would probably be the average prices free on board?

"3. What would probably be the freight per quarter to England?

"4. Would the exportation be subject to any other charges?

"5. Whether, if there were a regular and steady demand in England for foreign corn, the quantity of corn produced in the said country or district would, without much difficulty, and in a short space of time, be materially increased."

From the answers, it appears that the probable total quantity of wheat which could be exported from all those places to England is 2,222,464 quarters. The general average price of wheat, free on board, is stated to be 40*s.* 6*d.* per quarter. Of the Polish wheat, it is said: "The remunerating price of wheat at Warsaw is 24*s.* The expenses of water-carriage thence to Dantzic may be taken at 12*s.* per quarter. The general average freight of wheat to England appears to be 4*s.* 9¾*d.* per quarter. In most instances, the exportation would be subject to no other charges than freight, there being no duty on exportation of wheat." The fifth question is answered negatively from St. Petersburg, Riga, Liebau, Odessa, Dantzic, Konigsburg, Stettin, Hamburg, Rotterdam, and Antwerp; and affirmatively from Warsaw, Stockholm, Memel, Elsinore, and Palermo. These last named districts furnish but small quantities, and the increase is unimportant.

It may be useful to give some of these returns more in full.

Russia.—The average price at St. Petersburg is stated at 39*s.*, and of freight 4*s.* 5*d.* to 5*s.* At Riga price 49*s.* 7*d.*, freight 4*s.* 9*d.* per quarter. As to any increase of production, the consul, Mr. Baker, says that it is not to be expected: "1st, the principal corn districts are too remote from the ports to enable the farmer to get his crop from market sufficiently early for exportation in the same year; 2d, the rapid increase of manufactures in this country has withdrawn many hands from tillage, which, in a thinly-populated country like Russia, must operate against any increase of agriculture; in fact, it is considered by many to have contributed to the deficient production of corn in this country for some years past, although this deficiency may be principally attributed to the seasons; 3d, flax is being yearly more and more cultivated in Russia, and especially in this province, and the neighboring ones of Esthonia, Courland, Lithuania, and in White Russia, being an article that always finds a ready sale in the Riga market at remunerating prices, which also tends to counteract any great increase in the production of corn; to which may also be added the yearly-extending establishments of beet-root sugar refineries, and cultivation of beet-root, more particularly in the internal provinces of the empire."

Prussia and Poland.—The consul at Dantzic, Mr. Plaw, says that, "considering the stocks of corn in this country and in Poland had been accumulating three or four years previous to 1838, when the low averages in Britain were so discouraging for shipments; there is, therefore, a greater chance of less than of a larger average quantity being shipped. The chief export of grain from this port is the produce of Poland, consequently it is not to be ascertained here what effect a change in the British corn laws might

produce among the corn-growers of that country, and which would, in some measure, depend upon what way of government it may in future experience on the part of Russia; but as regards this part of Prussia, it is considered to be at present in such an advanced state of cultivation that a larger supply for shipment could not be expected, at least to any extent, than the last three years have supplied."

At Warsaw Colonel Barnett writes that about 350,000 quarters of wheat may be expected from Poland. "The average price of £1 4*s.* per imperial quarter at the river's side would repay the growers. The expense of water carriage to Dantzic, Prussian transit duty, and charges on shipment, may be taken at 12*s.* per imperial quarter. The quantity of wheat grown in Poland has considerably increased in the last six years, and the production might, no doubt, be further gradually increased if there were a steady demand for foreign corn in England; but the deficiency of manure, the scarcity of hands, and the want of skill in the cultivation of the land, would operate against any large immediate increase."

Odessa.—The average price is 26*s.* 5*d.* A remunerating price is said to be 21*s.* 3*d.* to 25*s.*, according to quality. Freight varies from 6*s.* 2*d.* to 21*s.* 6*d.* per quarter; a fair freight is 10*s.* Mr. Consul General Yeames states that, "considering the annual exportation of wheat from Odessa during the last ten years (from 1830 to 1839 inclusive), averaging 581,340 quarters, and considering likewise the claims of old markets of consumption, it is presumed that more than 100,000 quarters could not be diverted by a new source of demand without materially disturbing the market of Odessa, and more positively so, if that quantity is to be subtracted from the supply of the finer qualities. From the Asoph, where the exportation has averaged about 450,000 quarters annually, but where the demand from old customers is more special and peremptory on account of quality, the extra supply on the same conditions would probably not exceed 50,000 quarters.

"There would be no material increase, and certainly not in a short space of time, 1st, because in Padolia and Kievy, whence Odessa derives its principal supplies, the greatest quantity possible of grain is at all times produced without regard to price and demand, in consequence of capital being vested in slave labor which is not otherwise to be employed; 2dly, because the plains called steppes, adjacent to the Black sea and Asoph are thinly peopled, so that in years when crops are abundant they are seen suffering on the ground for want of reapers; 3dly, because on these steppes crops are exceedingly precarious, by reason of drought, the common calamity of this climate; of the high winds, which carry off the seed from the dusty soil; of the early thaws, and subsequent frosts without snow; 4thly, because tillage is defective and improvement difficult under the present circumstances of the country; 5thly, because distances are great, and communications unaided by art, there being no roads, and the rivers being unnavigable; 6thly, because the land-holders are empoverished, and most of them indebted to the crown, and the working classes are degraded by their condition of slavery; 7thly, because no progressive improvements are to be expected in Russia until great organic changes are brought about, or so long as the real interests of the country are sacrificed to an anti-commercial policy. Very high prices may, indeed, cause at times a greater exportation, not by increase of production, but by extending the circle of supply."

Hamburg.—Prices 35*s.* to 46*s.*, freight 2*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.*, and even 10*s.* per

quarter. "The average export of wheat may be 220,000 quarters, but how much thereof can be appropriated to England will depend on what may be wanted for Holland, France, Spain, Portugal, and other countries, which are as much, or more, dependant on Germany for supplies of grain than England is. But it must always be remembered that the increased and increasing population of this country and district, requiring an increased quantity of grain for home consumption, will prevent any material increase in the quantity of grain that can be spared for export, and will also prevent prices from falling. It is calculated that in some places in this district nine tenths of the whole production is required for home use, and not more than one tenth remains for export."

Denmark.—Prices 30*s.* to 36*s.*, freight 3*s.* to 5*s.* Mr. Macgregor, the consul at Elsinore, writes: "The average quantity of wheat annually exported from Denmark and Sleswick-Holstein during the last twenty years amounted to 106,736 quarters, beside a considerable quantity exported in the shape of flour. If the trade in corn in England be constantly open at a moderate duty, the production of wheat will probably be increased to such an extent, that from 150,000 to 200,000 quarters would be the least quantities which might be expected to be shipped from Denmark for the British markets in years of common fertility."

The returns made in 1841–'2, contain some additional information of value. As our Government has never published any considerable amount of information bearing on this important interest of the country, your memorialist deems it proper to imbody the greater part of this in his memorial.

Russia.—Mr. Vice-consul Miller writes, St. Petersburg, September 25 1841: "In the interior of the country, this year's crops have proved very deficient, and some districts have been almost in a state of famine for the last three or four years. Between this and Moscow, the season has been favorable, and the crops good, and from Moscow, eastward, to the Baltic and Prussia, also excellent. You are, however, aware that the great corn-growing country is not here included, which is situate east of longitude 38° 2′, south of latitude 54°, the accounts from which districts are miserable, and caused by a continuance of dry weather to such an extent as not only to decrease materially the yield of the crops, and burn up the grass on the pasture lands, thereby rendering it necessary to adopt grain for the feeding of the cattle, and at an unusually early period begin upon the small supplies of fodder which, in ordinary seasons, are reserved for the winter and spring keep, but the drought has also parched the land to that degree, that no sowing can take place before the spring, which is dangerous, and a great disadvantage to Russia, from the soil being so long in an unfit state to receive the seed after the melting of the snow."

From Riga, Mr. Consul Baker writes, November 30, 1841, that "there are now no old stocks of grain to meet a deficient harvest, and that even good crops will little more than suffice for home consumption. Riga, in the first instance, obtains its grain from the neighboring province of Cusland, and likewise from Lithuania, but, in case of a demand for exportation, principally from the provinces of Smolensk and White Russia." The largest amount of wheat exported from Riga, was in 1831, when it amounted to 128,803 quarters; of which, about 115,000 went to England. Average price, free on board, 42*s.* In 1839, the export was 39,553 quarters, of

which nearly 32,000 went to England. Average price on board 44*s*. In 1840, the whole export was but 4,612 quarters. Average price 44*s*. With regard to any probable increase, the consul has the following

REMARKS.

"The question whether it is probable that a considerable extent of land, in Livonia and the neighboring provinces, would be thrown into cultivation of wheat, if the import duty in England was fixed at 8*s*. per quarter, is difficult to answer, but I am inclined to think that in that case an increased quantity would be cultivated in the more distant, but not in the nearer provinces. In Livonia, for instance, where not only the climate, but also the soil in most parts of the province, is ill adapted to the growth of wheat, a reduction of the duty in England would probably make no difference whatever in the extent of the cultivation, especially as in the only part of Livonia (generally called Esthonian Livonia) where the article is ever produced to any extent, the production of flax is likewise a matter of so much importance, that it is not likely, even if the duty in England were to be materially reduced, that the culture of the latter, which is an article of ready and certain sale, would be superseded in any material degree by that of wheat, the cultivation of which in the part of the country in question, is attended with so much risk, that persons well acquainted with the subject affirm, that it may be safely assumed that *of three crops, one at least will prove a total failure.* In Esthonia the same causes, as regard soil and climate, modified in some respects, would produce nearly the same results; but even if in consequence of the reduction of duty in England, the cultivation of wheat in this province was, contrary to all probability, to be extended, that circumstance would probably have little or no direct influence on the Riga exportations, both Revel and Pernau being more conveniently situated for the conveyance thither of landed produce, not only from the whole of Esthonia, but also from that part of Livonia where wheat is principally cultivated.

"In Courland, where not only the soil in many parts of the province, but also the climate is more favorable to the growth of wheat, than is the case in any part of Livonia or Esthonia (the difference in climate being even greater than the difference in latitude would lead one to believe), other causes would probably lead to nearly the same result, viz: first, that the proximity of Riga, where, even in years when there *is no demand for exportation*, the growers of wheat can always be certain of finding buyers for home consumption, has rendered the agriculturists, to a certain degree, independent of a foreign demand, and has consequently induced the great landed proprietors to throw as large an extent of ground into the cultivation of wheat, that even a more ready sale, at higher prices, would probably leave but *little margin for an increase* of cultivation, though I, at the same time, believe that such increase would take place in a moderate degree in the event of a reduction in the English duty; and, secondly, that even if more land, adapted to the growth of wheat, was available, than is actually the case, it is not likely that such land would be applied exclusively to the cultivation of this article, in prejudice to that of flax, which (as in Esthonia and part of Livonia) is likewise cultivated in Courland to a considerable extent, and which, being, as already mentioned, an article of certain sale; for cash payment, *would certainly never be abandoned altogether in favor of wheat*, the sale of which, at remunerating prices (beyond a certain extent for home consumption, as above alluded to), would always be uncertain, and dependant on the extent of the foreign demand and the result of the crops in foreign countries.

"In the governments of Smolenski, Witepek, &c., the cultivation of wheat would most probably be somewhat extended, if the duty in England was to be sufficiently reduced to afford a fair prospect of a ready and regular sale for exportation at Riga, but *I do not think that such increase would be very* material for some time to come, though it might possibly gradually become so, as flax is in those provinces a most important article of produce, and affords (as already mentioned with reference to other provinces) such facilities in many respects, that it is improbable that its cultivation would ever, without very immediate and palpable advantages, be suspended by that of any other article. Persons well acquainted with the provinces assert that the largest annual supply of wheat which could, even under favorable circumstances, be looked forward to thence, would not exceed 2,000, or, at most, 2,500 lasts (22,666, or 28,333 imperial quarters), a statement, however, which I consider to be much below the mark.

"On the other hand, I believe that in some of the more distant provinces, and especially in the government of Orel, where large quantities of wheat are already cultivated, the growth of the article would be considerably extended, if the duty in England were to be reduced to such an extent as to render an annual demand for foreign exportation certain or even probable, but in how far such an increase might affect the quantity available for exportation from Riga, it is impossible to foresee till the experiment has been tried frequently, and on a large scale, as the facilities of conveyance from that province to St. Petersburg are much the same as those thence to Riga, and it would remain to be seen, after frequent trial, which of the two ports would receive the bulk of the supply. Riga would, however, have the advantage, that shipments could be effected there much earlier than at St. Petersburg.

"Upon the whole, therefore, I am inclined to think that a reduction of the import duty of wheat into England would produce some, but for some years to come, at least, no very material increase in the quantity of the article available for exportation from Riga, but at the same time I am of opinion that the quantity available for exportation from all the ports of Russia, taken together, might be eventually (*though probably only gradually*) very considerably extended, in the event of such an extensive alteration of the present English corn laws taking place, as to produce a certain and regular annual demand for wheat in the Russian ports, at *prices materially higher than those which may now be assumed as a fair average in common years*, though a mere increase of demand at about the same prices which might now be obtained, would probably produce little or no alteration in the quantity of wheat at present cultivated, excepting perhaps in some of the more remote provinces."

Belgium.—Mr. Meek says: "Belgium does not raise sufficient corn for the consumption of its own inhabitants. The quantity exported occasionally is immediately replaced by a corresponding importation from the northern ports. The nearness of the port of Ostend to the London market enables dealers to take advantage of its fluctuations, and, when the duty is low, to throw in all they can collect, taking the chance of replacing it, which they generally do, with inferior corn. Exportation ceases by law, when wheat is 24 francs per hectolitre, or 54*s*. 9*d*. per quarter. The imports are principally from Riga, Dantzic, and Odessa. In 1839, wheat was imported into Belgium, viz: by land from Prussia and Holland, 60,000 quarters, and by sea from Russia and Prussia, 65,000 quarters; exported, 12,000 quarters—one half to France, one half to England. The country is already in so high a state of cultivation, as not to be susceptible of any material increase of its

agricultural products. The inhabitants are said to consume more food than any people on the continent. Salted meat has lately become an article of import from the United States.

Holland.—Mr. Consul Annesley writes, November 25, 1841, that, in a strict investigation into the working of the present system of corn duties, "it would appear that trade has suffered more in comparison, than agriculture has profited by it." From the year 1820 to 1830, a small fixed duty existed on wheat and rye—that on wheat 7*fl.* 50*c.* per last, and on rye 4*fl.* 50*c.* From 1830 to 1835, the fixed duty was raised to 30*fl.* per last on wheat, and 9*fl.* on rye. Since that period, the duty has been regulated by the sliding-scale system; and there is no doubt that, consequently, the trade in corn has considerably diminished, the stock in hand less, and the prices to the consumer seriously augmented.

"The high price at which bread is sold at Amsterdam weighs heavily on the poor; and any remedy that could be found to remove this evil, would be regarded as a most benign and popular measure. Upon the whole, I am under the impression that, although the present sliding-scale system can not be said actually to have a pernicious influence, yet that the re-establishment of the former plan of a fixed duty would be the most beneficial to the country, giving an impetus to commerce, and certainly an increase in the receipts of the royal Treasury."

Extract of a despatch from Vice-Consul Sir James H. Turing, dated Rotterdam, November 22, 1841.

"The corn law at present in operation in Holland was enacted in 1836, for the purpose of affording protection to the agriculturist when prices are low, and of simultaneously regulating the trade in foreign corn, especially for home consumption (which had been previously unrestricted), by means of a sliding scale of duties, the bearing of which will be immediately perceived by reference to the following table, which I confine to the article of wheat, as constituting the principal object of interest, viz:

TABLE XVI.

Regulating scale of duties of wheat in Holland.

When the average price is			The import duty will be		The export will be		The transit duty will be	
	Per last.	Per quarter.	Per last.	Per qr.	Per last.	Per qr.	Per lst.	Per qr.
Above - -	270 fl.	or 42*s.* 10*d.* - - -	7.50 fl.	or 1*s.* 2½*d.*	15 fl.	or 2*s.* 4½*d.*	3 fl.	or 5¾*d.*
From 270 fl. and above	240 fl.,	or 42*s.* 10*d.* to 38*s.* 1*d.* -	15 fl.	or 2*s.* 4½*d.*	Free - -		3 fl.	or 5¾*d.*
" 240 fl. "	210 fl.,	or 38*s.* 1*d.* to 33*s.* 4*d.* -	30 fl.	or 4*s.* 9*d.*	–	–	3 fl.	or 5¾*d.*
" 210 fl. "	180 fl.,	or 33*s.* 4d. to 28*s.* 7*d.* -	45 fl.	or 7*s.* 1½*d.*	–	–	3 fl.	or 5¾*d.*
" 180 fl. "	165 fl.,	or 28*s.* 7*d.* to 26*s.* 2*d.* -	60 fl.	or 9*s.* 6*d.*	–	–	3 fl.	or 5¾*d.*
" 165 fl. "	150 fl.,	or 26*s.* 2*d.* to 23*s.* 9*d.* -	75 fl.	or 11*s.* 10½*d.*	–	–	3 fl.	or 5¾*d.*
" 150 fl. Lower		23*s.* 9*d.* - - -	90 fl.	or 14*s.* 3*d.*	–	–	3 fl.	or 5¾*d.*

"I shall now proceed to examine in how far this system has already, or may hereafter, realize the object of its adoption.

"Owing to abundant harvests and ample stocks in granary, prices of wheat had been declining for seasons, until in 1835, the clamor raised by the agricultural body obtained the passing of the present law, which took effect from and after the 1st of January, 1836. So far, however, from affording the contemplated relief, prices, for a short time after its enactment, experienced a further decline; but presently extraneous causes came to the aid of the agriculturist, and have ever since been conducive to the maintenance of remunerating prices; I allude to the failure of the wheat crop in the United States of America in 1835 and 1836, and the *subsequent deficiencies in Europe*, the effects of which continue to the present time, indeed, so far as regards Great Britain; owing to the unfavorable ingathering of her latest harvest, she has drawn so largely on the slender stock in this country during the months of August and September, of the present year, as to cause an advance on the prices of wheat, in that short period, of fully 14*s.* per quarter.

"It is apparent, therefore, that the corn law in Holland has had little or no share in the improvement experienced by the agriculturist, inasmuch as the causes by which the contemplated benefit to the grower of corn would have to be appreciated, have not existed.

"The imperfection of the system, as far as concerns the objects to be gained, namely, protection to the farmer, and moderate prices to the consumer, appear, however, to be palpable.

"In the first place, the bonding system, as applied to foreign grain in Holland, is, in point of expense and fiscal regulations, placed on a footing so extremely liberal and convenient to the holder of bonded corn, as to ensure a supply, always ready at hand for consumption, whenever the duties become moderate; the effect of which supply is adverse to the farmer's interest.

"In the next place, if protection be extended to the agriculturist when prices are low, by subjecting foreign grain, if taken into consumption, to an ascending duty; restriction on the other hand is imposed on the exportation of free corn, by the fixed duty of 18 florins per last, or about 2*s.* 4½*d.* per quarter, when the average price of wheat exceeds 270 florins per last, or about 43*s.* per quarter, at which period foreign corn is admissible at the lowest duty of 7½ florins per last, or about 1*s.* 2¼*d.* per quarter.

"One object of the law is to check exportation when prices rule high, but as a period of six weeks elapses before the restrictive duty takes effect, the holder of corn has abundance of time to regulate his operations and to escape the duty; the result of which calculation will probably be, that only a very moderate stock of wheat will be found to be available for home consumption when the averages reach the maximum.

"Moreover, recent experience has shown, that when England requires supplies, the duty in question will not prevent wheat from leaving Holland. It is, besides, evident that in cases of deficient harvests and inadequate stocks, even independent of a demand from abroad, the natural course of the home market will cause prices to advance beyond the reach of legislative enactments, the more so that this country does not produce sufficient corn for her own use.

"I have reason also to know that the feeling entertained by commercial men is not in favor of the present law, from a fear that neighboring states, looking with dissatisfaction on a system, the object of which is to impose restrictions when prices are low (on the admission of their corn into Holland),

may thence be induced, when the case occurs, *to adopt measures of retaliation prejudicial to the general interests of trade.*

"Upon the whole, therefore, it may be assumed that the system is defective, and inadequate to the attainment of the objects for which it was adopted."

DENMARK.—Mr. Consul Macgregor, at Elsinore, October 25, 1841, writes, that, "from the middle of June down to the commencement of the harvest, a constant succession of cold and rainy weather materially affected the wheat and rye crops in the very blooming season, retarding, at the same time, the growth and maturity of all other descriptions of grain. In consequence of the bad prospects, the price of rye, the bread-corn of this country has already considerably risen; and, should the rye-crops actually prove deficient next year, it is highly probable that the importation of foreign *rye* must be resorted to. As to the capabilities of Denmark for the exportation of *wheat* next year, I do not think it will exceed 100,000 quarters, considering that *the Dutch markets must be completely drained of their old stock*, in consequence of the continued demand for foreign wheat in Great Britain."

Mr. James Meek, an agent of the British Government, who visited several countries of Europe, for the purpose of collecting information on commercial subjects, gives a detailed account of the agricultural resources and capabilities of Denmark, and the causes that are likely to extend or limit its production hereafter.

"Previously to the year 1784, Denmark, with corn laws prohibitory of exportation, hardly raised corn sufficient for the support of her own population; but at that period the nobles were lords of the soil, and the peasantry were serfs. It was in the year 1789, that the Danish peasant was emancipated from this degraded state; many salutary laws were passed for bettering his condition. The commons were divided, the land enclosed, and, by the sale of large estates, in convenient lots, a numerous class of small landholders was created. From that time agriculture has taken a fresh impulse in Denmark, and it has ever since been steadily but slowly progressing, notwithstanding the pressure under which it naturally labored, in more recent times, from the effects of a protracted war and a depreciated paper currency. But such has been the ultimate success of persevering industry, that now this country not only produces what is required for the wants of an increased population, but has also an annual surplus of nearly 1,000,000 quarters of corn and grain for exportation, beside other agricultural produce.

"The resources of the country, however, are far from being exhausted; because, although large tracts of land have been brought under cultivation since the peace, still several hundred thousand acres are left waiting for the plough; beside which, a great part of the land already under cultivation, especially in Jutland, may still be rendered more productive by an improved mode of tillage than it has hitherto been.

"Much remains still to be done for the further development of the resources and capabilities of the country. The tenantry belonging to most of the estates, having manorial right, are still bound, at stated periods, and according to regulation, to perform personal services on the manor. The tithes, very oppressive when they are levied in kind, are an additional burden upon the small landholder and the peasantry, as the privileged estates are exempt from them. The peasantry are liable, besides, to perform cer-

tain services to the crown, such as furnishing vehicles and horses for the conveyance of civil and military officers, and mending the public roads. They are also exclusively draughted for the military service. But most of their grievances having already been brought before the Danish Government, or discussed by the provincial states, it may be confidently expected that restraints of such a nature, imposed upon the most industrious part of the population, will gradually, and at no very distant period, be removed; more especially so, as public opinion, which has pronounced itself against their continuance, gains ground every day.

"The abolition or modification of these last vestiges of feudal tenure will no doubt produce the most salutary effects; and nothing will tend more to stimulate the energies of the Danish landowner, and urge him to further improvements, than the opening of the British markets for the permanent sale of his produce upon the payment of fixed and moderate duties. It is scarcely necessary to add that the country seems to be particularly well qualified for the supply of the English market, to a certain extent, as well from its nearness as from its commodious harbors, which are accessible during the greater part of the winter.

"Although the population of Denmark has increased one third since the beginning of the present century, yet so thinly is it spread over the country that the number of people living on a geographical square mile does not exceed 2,060. But it must not be lost sight of, that, in proportion to the increase of population, waste lands are brought under cultivation, and rendered productive; that only a small part of the populatian (181 in 1,000) are employed in industrial pursuits; and that the culture of beet-root for sugar is not likely to be encouraged at the expense of corn, so long as Denmark is in possession of her West Indian colonies. Under these circumstances, the period would appear to be far distant when she will cease to have a surplus of agricultural produce to dispose of for exportation."

The Danish rural economists estimate the average amount of corn annually raised in Demark at 8,300,000 quarters; of which is required—

For food of the people	3,580,000
For food for animals	2,720,000
For seed	1,150,000
Leaving surplus for export	850,000

Of the whole crop, 400,000 quarters are wheat, and 2,150,000 rye.

"Farming in Holstein is carried on with considerable neatness, and great care is taken in collecting manure. The houses and farming buildings also appear to be in neat and excellent order.

"Pork is sent to Hamburg in large quantities, for the purpose of being salted. The pigs are killed on the farms and sent to Hamburg, in wagons, when the salting takes place. There is none salted at Kiel, and but little beef, the latter principally for their own shipping. Butter is sent to England direct from Kiel, and also to Hamburg. England takes from two to three millions of pounds direct from Kiel, and Hamburg the rest. The quantity cured in 1840, was about 4,000,000 lbs. The quality has of late greatly improved, and it is in constant demand in England. The price at which it is purchased is such that it can bear the present duty of 20*s.* per cwt. and leave a fair profit.

"England, it is said, does not produce sufficient for her own consumption. The supplies received from Kiel, Holland, and other foreign ports, are of

course indispensable. In 1818, the butter exported from Kiel did not exceed 1,000,000 lbs. At present, it is 4,000,000 lbs., owing principally to less corn being grown, and more land converted into pasture—the fluctuating nature of the corn duties in England rendering it more advisable to keep cows and make butter, where the profit is moderate and the demand steady, than to incur the risk and uncertainty of the corn market. All the crop of corn of the present year, not reserved for consumption, will be available for exportation, perhaps to the amount of 100,000 quarters of wheat; of barley, but little, as the greater part will be given to the stock."

In a letter to Mr. Meek, Mr. Macgregor says:

"If the trade in corn was made constantly open to England, the natural consequences would be, that the British merchant would again become the principal agent for the regular supply of his own country with corn, directly from the place of growth, and British shipping would be employed to a much greater extent in the carriage of grain than it is at present. The English corn laws have a general tendency to disturb the ordinary course of trade, and, as regards this country [Denmark] in particular, they have had the effect—1st, to make this Government persevere in its system of high duties upon British manufactures; and 2d, to throw the trade of Denmark into the hands of the Hans Towns, who now almost exclusively supply her with colonial produce and manufactures, and receive the surplus of her corn in return, to meet foreign orders in their own market. Hamburg in particular thus becomes more and more the centre of trade between the states of the German Custom-house Union, and the northern countries, and it is a positive fact that the Danish corn market is no longer at Copenhagen, but at Hamburg."

DANTZIC.

The following quantity of corn has been exported from Dantzic in the last seven years:

TABLE XVII.

Years.	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Flour.
	Qrs.	*Qrs.*	*Qrs.*	*Qrs.*	*Barrels.*
1834	71,043	24,811	326	1,522	33,863
1835	45,129	13,860	95	2,898	28,392
1836	129,035	70,812	7,317	7,224	58,891
1837	314,601	109,989	2,357	8,085	67,612
1838	458,440	31,290	2,509	1,206	78,274
1839	419,055	134,253	65,919	8,379	45,251
1840	596,776	131,880	37,054	2,735	21,809
	1,934,079	511,895	117,597	31,749	334,092

"Wheat of moderate quality in ordinary seasons can not be brought from Poland and delivered at Dantzic *at less than* 35*s.* per quarter, and that only when no excitement exists in foreign markets. Some time since a very large accumulation of grain had, in the course of several years, taken place in the granaries at Dantzic, but the great export which has occurred during the last

three or four years has so reduced the magazines, that the stock at the close of the present season was not expected to exceed from 80,000 to 100,000 quarters. The demand has been so great during the last two or three years, that every effort has been made to collect in Poland all the supplies that were available, and to bring them to Dantzic for exportation. If the corn trade in England was so modified as to be constantly open at a moderate duty, it is not likely, *under such circumstances*, that shipments *of wheat from Dantzic would materially* exceed that of the last two or three years. Not more than 5,000 *quarters* are consumed annually in Dantzic by a population of 62,000 persons, the people generally preferring and living upon rye bread. Of the corn exported from Dantzic, *one third* comes from that part of Poland which belongs to Prussia, and the remaining two thirds from the Russian territory. Apprehensions were expressed here, as in *other places*, *of the competition of Odessa and America*, *in the event of any material reduction of the duty on corn in England.* The party making the observation, who is a *leading corn merchant* in Dantzic, said he had at that moment a cargo of *Odessa corn in London which stood him in* 49*s. per quarter*, and that he could purchase then Odessa wheat of similar quality at 48*s.* per quarter. The same apprehensions were expressed by others as to Odessa, exports from which place having already been largely made to Italy and other parts of the Mediterranean, and recently, it was added, several cargoes had been shipped to England. On pressing one of the most intelligent merchants in Dantzic to state what price was paid to the landed proprietor or farmer in Poland for a quarter of wheat on the estate where it was grown, or at the nearest market to that estate, he replied that it was *generally bought by the Jews* upon the estates from the land-owners or their agents, and afterward sold by the former to the *merchants at* Dantzic, deliverable at Dantzic; that in some instances the princes and great landowners sent their own commissioners to Dantzic to effect sales to the merchants; that a Russian prince *who had* 10,000 *serfs had acted upon the principle very recently;* that under such circumstances, it would not be right to *take less than* 35*s. per quarter* as the price at which wheat, when there was a fair average crop, could be *delivered at Dantzic*, from which, deducting 12*s. per quarter*, for the expense of bringing it from the place of growth to Dantzic, including waste, which is generally very considerable, cost of the boats, which are broken up and sold for a trifle compared with their original cost (amounting, perhaps, to 400 or 500 thalers, whereas they are only sold for about 40), the expense of the peasants and other persons navigating them for *a voyage*, *sometimes of three or four months*, and returning back to Poland on foot, there would be *left* 23*s. per quarter*, as the price paid to the proprietor at the place of growth, out of which he had to bear the expense of cultivation, to pay the *interest* and redeem the capital of any mortgage which might exist, the residue being what would remain for *rent and interest of capital* embarked in the soil. He added, that this was generally considered as an *average estimate of the expenses*, but that they would vary a little, dependant upon the distance, either greater or less, from which the corn was brought. A considerable quantity of bones are exported from Dantzic to Great Britain, many of which are collected and sent down from Cracow. Complaint was made to the consul by the merchant principally employed in this trade, that a heavy transit duty of 2*s.* per cwt. had recently been levied for the nominal purpose of repaving the turnpike road, that it was a heavy tax in proportion to the value, and that a representation from England was alone necessary to obtain its repeal."

COMPARISON OF DANTZIC AND NEW YORK.

Your memorialist wishes to insert in this connexion, the following statements, taken from the appendix to his former memorial, showing the comparative advantages of Dantzic and New York in a competition for the grain trade of England.

The largest supplies of grain imported into Great Britain have generally come from Dantzic. The grain is chiefly brought from the interior on the rivers Vistula, Bug, &c., in flat-boats of the rudest construction, open to the effects of the weather and the hand of the pilferer. During the passage, which lasts several weeks, and even months, the sprouting of the wheat on the top forms a thick mat, that constitutes a tolerable covering for the bulk. The boats carry from 180 to 200 quarters (1,440 to 1,600 bushels) of wheat, are navigated by 6 or 7 men, with a small boat to sound ahead to find the shifting shoals, and are broken up and the materials sold at Dantzic. The wheat (all but the grown surface) is thrown out upon the fields and dried, and then stored in warehouses, the whole of which are capable of holding 500,000 quarters (4,000,000 bushels). The average cost of the inland freight, including waste, is 8*s.* 6*d.* per quarter, equal to 25 cents per bushel. The expense of drying, cleaning, and warehouses at Dantzic, is 2*s.* more or 6 cents per bushel.

The grain brought from the northwest to New York is first shipped in bulk, in the hold of lake schooners, to Buffalo; then in boats covered close with boards, on the Erie canal, to the Hudson; then in barges equally secure, and towed by steam to New York. The whole freight and charges from Chicago to New York do not ordinarily exceed 34 cents per bushel, with no waste or damage. The greater part, however, is made into flour before it reaches New York, and comes in neat barrels, in complete order for shipping. The cost of freight and charges is about 20 per cent. less, in proportion, on flour than on wheat in bulk: that is, four bushels of wheat pay about as much as a barrel of flour.

It is supposed that the utmost quantity capable of being furnished for export from Dantzic yearly, is from 300,000 to 400,000 quarters, or 498,000 to 667,000 barrels of flour.

Account of ordinary charges on 100 *quarters of wheat, shipped from Dantzic, and landed under bond in London.*

	£	*s.*
100 quarters, free on board at Dantzic, cost 30*s.*	150	0
Freight 5*s.* per quarter and 10 per cent.	27	10
Metage ex-ship 6*s.* 6*d.* per last	3	5
Lighterage and landing 9*d.* per quarter	3	15
Insurance 80*s.* per cent. and policy 5*s.* per cent.	7	14
Granary rent and insurance one week		5
Turning and trimming		2
Delivering from granary 3*d.* per quarter	1	5
Metage " " 2*s.* per last	1	0
Commission on sale 1*s.* per quarter	5	0
Del credere 1 per cent. on 40*s.*	2	0
Total cost to importer	201	16
Add profit, 10 per cent.	20	3
	221	19

Account of actual sale of flour in bond, at Liverpool, on American account.

Account of sales of 500 barrels of flour, received per Columbus, Cropper master, from New York, and sold by order of Messrs. ——— ———, & Co., for account of ——— ———.

1840.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
April 13	To 500 barrels in bond, at 28*s.* 6*d.* per 196 lbs. - - - -	712	10	0			
	Less deficiency in weight 440 lbs. -	3	4	0			
					709	6	0
	CHARGES.						
Feb. 4	Bond dock and town dues - -	6	6	7			
	Freight on 500 bbls., at 4*s.* - £100						
	Primage - - - 5						
		105	0	0			
	Cartage, porterage, cooperage, weighing, and delivering -	16	16	4			
	Insurance from fire - - -	1	18	9			
	Warehouse rent - - -	4	15	3			
	Interest on charges - - -	1	5	4			
	Brokerage ½ per cent. - -	3	10	11			
	Commission and del credere, 3½ per cent. - - - -	24	16	6			
					164	9	8
	Net proceeds to the credit of ———, ———, & Co., for account -		–		544	16	4

Messrs. ——— ———, in account with Messrs. Baring, Brothers, & Co., London, for July 16, 1840.

Errors excepted.

BARING, BROTHERS, & CO.

LIVERPOOL, *April* 27, 1840.

The above statement of sales was obligingly furnished to your memorialist by an eminent merchant of New York, not long since a member of Congress, as a fair example of the wheat trade with Liverpool.

TABLE XVIII.

Ordinary expenses of inland freight of wheat to Dantzic, per quarter, in sterling, and per bushel in federal currency; with the inland freight of flour per barrel, and wheat per bushel, to New York.

INLAND FREIGHT TO DANTZIC.

	Per quarter.	Per bushel.
	s. *d.*	*Cts.* *ms.*
From the upper provinces of Poland, on the Bug, 700 miles	9 2	27 0
From Cracow, 550 miles	6 6	19 0
From Warsaw and vicinity, about 240 miles	4 9	13 0
From Wlaclaweck, about 140 miles	4 2	12 0
From Grandentz, 70 miles	10	2 5

FREIGHT TO NEW YORK.

	Flour.	Wheat.
	Per bbl.	*Per bush.*
From Chicago, 1,450 miles	$1 37½	34 cents.
From Detroit, — miles	1 17½	28 "
From Buffalo, 531 miles	97½	23 "
From Albany, 160 miles	12½	3 "

N. B.—The prices of fare and freight established by the steamboats on Lake Erie, for the year 1842, fix the freight of flour from Chicago to Buffalo at 40 cents per barrel, equal to wheat at 10 cents per bushel, or about 3*s.* 4*d.* per quarter. The prices of fare established by the boats are as follows:

	Cabin.	Deck.
"From Buffalo to Cleveland	$4 50	$2 50
" " Detroit	6 50	3 00
" " Mackinac	16 00	8 00
" " Milwaukie	18 00	10 00
" " Chicago	18 00	10 00

Freight, from Buffalo to Mackinac—goods, per 100 pounds, 50 to 75 cents; from Buffalo to Milwaukie and Chicago, 50 to 87½ cents.

Down freight.—From Chicago, and other points on Lake Michigan, to Buffalo—flour, 40 cents per barrel; provisions, 62½ cents; ashes, 20 cents per hundred weight; hides, 15 cents each."

The average price of freight from New York to Liverpool being 4*s.* 8*d.*, and from Buffalo to New York about 6*s.* 8*d.* per quarter, the whole freight from Illinois to Liverpool would be 14*s.*, being as low as the freight from Poland, one third of the distance inland.

Lubeck.—The resources of the countries in the vicinity of Lubeck (Holstein and Mecklenburg) are very great, but it is questionable whether the produce can be materially increased under any circumstances. The population has increased, and the means of the people also; more will, therefore, be required for home consumption.

"The merchants at Lubeck, as well as at Rotterdam, Bremen, and Hamburg, are desirous that the corn laws of England should remain unaltered; but they admitted, at the same time, that it was for the interest of Great Britain, as well as foreigners, that some modification should take place, in order that speculation might be diminished, the trade rendered more steady, the supply more regular, and the country be relieved from the great drain on its treasure, to which it was occasionally and sometimes suddenly exposed. The question to which merchants on the continent looked, at the present moment, with great anxiety, and more than any other, was the course which England would pursue, and the extent to which she would feel it necessary to continue to give protection to British agriculture. *If she should adopt a fixed duty at too low a rate, they were afraid of the competition of Odessa and America.* All were aware that some change would take place. The anxiety was to *know what that change would be, and how far their respective countries were likely to be affected by it.* If the duties in England were moderate, there was, it was said, a capability of Mecklenburg, by the use of artificial manure, and an improved system of husbandry, to extend the produce of the country *from* 25 *to* 30 *per cent.* The means of the proprietors were increased.

"Many who were formerly in debt had cleared their estates, and the same had been the case with the small farmers. The *price of estates had within the last four years nearly doubled;* and whenever an estate was now to be sold, the competition among purchasers was so great as to run them up to an extravagant price. The interest of money, which did not exceed 3 or 3½ per cent., either at Lubeck or Hamburg, gave great facility on these occasions. In the course of conversation, it was admitted that wheat grown in Mecklenburg could *be delivered in England at* 40*s. per quarter;* to which, adding 5*s.* per quarter for the expense of landing in England, and bringing to sale, gave 45*s.* as the ordinary rate per quarter at which Mecklenburg wheat ought to be chargeable with duty. In speaking of Mecklenburg, it is impossible not to advert to their breed of horses, which, even on the farms, show a good deal of blood, are light and active; and, generally speaking, superior to any that are to be seen elsewhere in the north of Germany. They were also very good in Holstein. On one occasion in Mecklenburg, three farmers' wagons, each with four horses, were met—the first bays, the second chestnuts, and the third grays—that would have been admired among the best-horsed mail coaches in England.

"Mecklenburg-Schwerin is equal to 223 geographical square miles, or, at 640 acres per square mile, 3,200,000 *acres.* Mecklenburg-Strelitz is about 450,000 acres. Of these 3,650,000 acres, about *one third is in tillage.* The population in 1816, was about 340,000; it is now rather more than 500,000. At that time the exportation of wool did not exceed from 600,000 to 700,000 pounds per annum; at present it *is four times* that quantity. The cattle kept at that time were not half the number that are kept at present. Still the exportation of corn has by degrees increased in the same period nearly 50 per cent. in quantity and kind. Formerly much less wheat, and more oats, were exported. Of rye and oats there is now scarcely any

exported, nearly the whole being consumed. The *people generally eat rye* and not wheat bread. The farmers in Mecklenburg, it is said, contemplate keeping cows, and making butter for exportation, not only as a profitable and steady mode of the employment of capital, but as a more *effectual means of raising manure for enriching their lands*, and thereby increasing their corn crops. To show the extent to which the value of land is increasing, the following facts were stated: 1. For an estate that four years ago was bought for 90,000 thalers, 180,000 has been offered and refused, 200,000 being demanded and expected to be obtained. 2. In another case an estate has been actually sold for 170,000 thalers, which was bought only four years since for 85,000 thalers. Money is easily procured in mortgage at from 3 to 3½ per cent. Provisions generally are 50 per cent. dearer than they were fifteen years ago; every housekeeper knows this."

"As a fixed trade and duty would enable *distant places (Odessa, America, &c.) to compete* with the ports in the Baltic, prices would, probably, be rather lower than higher under such an alteration of circumstances. At present, countries adjacent to England can take advantage of momentary circumstances or lowness of duty, an advantage which they would lose under the change adverted to; corn at present can be bought and kept warehoused in ports not too distant, till a low duty enables it to be imported with advantage."

Prussia.—A spirit of agricultural improvement seems to prevail, generally, in the Prussian dominions. "Landed property, in the neighborhood of Stettin, has, within the last four or five years, risen in value from fifty to seventy-five per cent." The wheat exported in 1840, was 448,000 quarters, chiefly to England. In 1841, it was 259,846. The general improvement in every part of Prussia, will develop the capabilities of the country. As "the population is rapidly increasing, it is not probable that any considerable increase of exports, of the produce of the soil, will take place for a considerable time, even under an alteration of the commercial system of England." A regular and steady demand might lead eventually to an increase of produce for export; "but it would be a considerable time first, and only after such an outlay of capital as a steady trade would warrant." The soil is naturally light and poor; and "the landed proprietors of Prussian Poland, and other Prussian provinces, though of late greatly enriched, are not yet wholly free from mortgages, and consequently not in a condition to use artificial manures, to a great extent, as is the case with the British farmer." "There is a vast quantity of fine land in Prussian Posen, that has not been exhausted by tillage, that would materially influence the quantity of corn likely to be produced under the influence of a regular and steady demand; and that land will most likely be brought under cultivation whenever roads are made to bring it to market, and an increased demand takes place. The forming of good roads has already been under consideration, and many years will not elapse before that important object is effected." "In the eastern part of Prussia, the estates are generally worked for account of the nobility, who are the principal landowners; but on the Rhine, and other western provinces, where the population is more dense, it is not unusual for lands to be let to farmers, in the same manner as in England." Some estates are very large. "One was mentioned, where seventeen teams, of four horses each, or sixty-eight horses, are kept."

TABLE XIX.

Quantity of wheat exported from the kingdom of Prussia in the last three years.

Years.	In foreign vessels.	In national vessels.
	Qrs.	*Qrs.*
1838	2,252,470	1,760,533
1839	3,004,509	3,523,288
1840	3,483,417	3,431,654

SARDINIA.—The continental states of the kingdom of Sardinia do not produce a sufficiency of farinaceous food for the wants of the people—falling short, yearly, about 113,437 quarters. The duty, as given in Elliott's Tables of Comparative Tariffs, is $2 37 per one hundred pounds, on flour, and $1 62 per one hundred pounds, on wheat. The average importation, for ten years, has been 298,671 quarters, chiefly wheat.

"It is calculated that each inhabitant of the country, upon an average, consumes, yearly, $4\frac{1}{2}$ hectolitres, $= 1\frac{1}{16}$ English quarters of farinaceous food.

"The inhabitants of the towns, and the richer classes of persons residing in the country, consume less, owing to their greater use of meat, fruits, and garden productions. A reduction, therefore, of $\frac{1}{2}$ a hectolitre, $= \frac{5}{72}$ English quarters, has to be made, which will reduce the average upon the whole population of the Continental States of Piedmont, to 4 hectolitres, $= 1\frac{1}{18}$ English quarters.

"The census of 1839, which is the most recent, gives a population of 4,125,725 souls, which, according to the average of four hectolitres per head, would make the quantity of farinaceous food, required yearly, amount to 16,502,900 hectolitres, $= 5,672,871\frac{7}{8}$ English quarters.

"From the above calculations, a further reduction is, however, necessary, from two causes: the first, the great consumption of fish used by the population on the sea-coast, amounting to about 600,000 souls; and, secondly, to the diminished proportion of farinaceous food used by the inhabitants of those provinces in which wine is drunk at each meal—a great difference, in this respect, having been observed between the population of the wine-growing districts and that of the plains, where the peasants have little or no wine at their disposal. From these reasons, about 2,000,000 of hectolitres have to be taken off, leaving about 14,000,000 hectolitres, $=$ 4,812,500 English quarters, of farinaceous food, for the yearly consumption of the whole population of the continental states of Piedmont.

"In the towns, wheat is almost solely used. The inhabitants of the plains and low hills of Piedmont, consume at least as much Indian corn and rye as wheat. In the Alpine valleys, wheat is an article of luxury, and Indian corn, potatoes, rye, and buckwheat, are the only articles of food used by the great majority of the inhabitants. In the Apennines and the hills of Montperral, chestnuts form an important article of consumption; and, lastly, rice, the production of the provinces of Verceil, Novara, and Vigirano, of which about 400,000 hectolitres, $=$ 137,500 English quarters, are consumed in the country.

TABLE XX.

The following table, adopting the above calculations, will show in detail the amount of the several quantities of farinaceous food consumed in the continental states of the king of Sardinia:

	Hectolitres.		English quarters.
Wheat - - -	6,500,000	equal to	2,234,375
Indian corn - - -	4,500,000	"	1,546,875
Rye - - - -	1,000,000	"	343,750
Chestnuts - - -	1,000,000	"	343,750
Beans, Buckwheat, Barley, Rice - -	1,000,000	"	343,750
Total - -	14,000,000	"	4,812,500

THE CORN MARKET OF THE CONTINENT.

The sum of the whole appears to be, that the accumulations of former years are exhausted in all those countries; that there is among them but little room for increase, without a change of the condition of society; that the increase of population is likely to keep pace with that increase in most of the countries; that about two millions quarters may be exported with ordinary harvests, at prices varying from twenty-six shillings and sixpence, to fifty-six shillings and sixpence, per quarter, with freight ranging from two shillings at Rotterdam, to ten shillings at Odessa. The following table gives the average prices at different markets, with the usual price of freight. The bottom line gives a general average of higher prices and dearer freights than the average at New York:

TABLE XXI.

CONTINENTAL PRICES.

Average price per quarter free on board, and probable freight per quarter to England.—British Almanac, 1842.

Names of places.	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Freight per quarter.
	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
St. Petersburg	39 1	19 4	17 11	12 5	4 5 to 5 0
Riga - -	49 7	26 4	21 10	18 0	4 9
Liebau -	43 7	25 9	18 7	11 4	4 6—5 0
Odessa -	26 6	–	–	–	10 0
Warsaw -	36 0	–	–	–	
Stockholm -	30 0 to 35 0	22 0 to 24 0	15 0 to 18 0	11 0 to 12 0	3 6—6 0
Dantzic -	40 0	20 0	18 0	12 0	3 6—4 0
Konigsberg -	40 0—45 0	18 0—20 0	14 0—18 0	10 0—14 0	4 0—6 0
Stettin -	40 0	22 0	20 0	14 0	4 0—5 0
Memel -	35 0	27 0	15 0	10 0—12 0	4 0—5 0
Elsinore -	30 0—36 0	22 0—25 0	16 0—24 0	12 0—15 0	3 6—5 0
Hamburg -	35 0—46 0	23 0—30 0	20 0—25 0	11 0—16 0	2 6—5 0
Rotterdam -	55 0	–	–	15 0—22 0	2 0—2 6
Antwerp -	56 5	32 1	28 9	22 1	2 0—2 6
Palermo -	38 0	–	–	–	8 3
Average -	40 6	24 0½	19 6½	14 1¾	4 9¾

TABLE XXII.

CONTINENTAL PRODUCTS—*by Mr. Curtis.*

Answers of H. B. M. Consuls to inquiries—

1. What quantity of wheat might now be exported to England at a moderate duty? 2. At what price delivered on board ship? 3. Whether, if there were a regular and steady demand in England, the quantity produced in each country would, without much difficulty, and in a short space of time, be increased?

Answers from	What quantity might be exported to England.	Average price.	Whether the quantity produced would be materially increased.
	Wheat.	Wheat.	
	Qrs.	s. d. s. d.	
St. Petersburg	192,500	39 1 to 0 0	No.
Riga	–	49 7 to 0 0	No.
Liebau	30,000	43 7 to 0 0	No.
Odessa	150,000	26 6 to 0 0	No.
Warsaw	300,000	36 0 to 0 0	To a certain extent.
Stockholm	1,000	30 0 to 35 0	Yes, if foreign capital were employed.
Dantzic	315,000	40 0 to 0 0	No.
Konigsberg	65,000	40 0 to 45 0	No.
Stettin	250,000	40 0 to 0 0	No.
Memel	5,964	35 0 to 0 0	Might be increased one fourth if there were a great demand.
Elsinore	175,000	30 0 to 36 0	Yes.
Hamburg	538,000	35 0 to 46 0	Probably not.
Rotterdam	–	55 0 to 0 0	To no great extent.
Antwerp	–	56 5 to 0 0	No.
Palermo	200,000	38 0 to 0 0	Would increase in three or four years.
Total	2,222,464		
General average	–	49s. 6d.	

FRANCE.—France, like England, adopts the principle of the periodical averages and the sliding scale. Her system of commercial and excise regulations is amazingly complicated, and extends both to exports and imports. In regard to grain, the duties on exports rise as the duties on imports fall by the scale. The kingdom is divided into four districts, each of which has its separate scale of averages and duties. In the 1st district, Marseilles, when the price is 27 francs, or above, per hectolitre, the duty is 25 centimes. If 26 francs, duty 125 centimes. If 25 francs, duty 225 centimes. If 24 francs, duty 325. If 23 francs, duty 475. Afterward, for every franc that the price falls, the duty rises 150 centimes. The averages are taken once a month, at thirty different markets. There are about two hundred and sixty places on the coast and inland where corn is allowed to enter France. In the 2d district, Bordeaux, the lowest duty, 25 centimes, attaches where wheat is at 25 francs. In the 3d district, Paris, at 23 francs. And, in the 4th district, Nantes, at 21 francs price. The other gradations in proportion. The average price of wheat in France, in the year 1840, was about 21 francs. The duty at that rate would be 625 centimes, or 30

per cent. The French complain much at our laying upon the millions of dollars worth of silks and wines we import from their country a mere duty of 20 per cent. for revenue; yet they lay upon one of our great staples, and one for which we greatly need a market, a protective duty almost prohibitory. Your memorialist is not aware that any representation has ever been made by our Government to that of France, of the injustice of this exclusion. The laboring people of France complain of the want of bread. Says a French paper:

"George Renes, a man laboring at the Paris fortification, cried out, when the king visited them, 'Long live the king, but no dear bread!' He was arrested, confined, brought before the court, and acquitted. He observed that his imprisonment did not prove that bread was cheap.—*Droit.*

"Dr. Villerme gives the average rate of wages per day, in a cotton mill, at Mulhausen, at, for 1832, 1 franc 3 centimes; 1835, 1 franc 11 centimes; that is, in our money, from about 10½*d.* to 11*d.* and a fraction of a penny per day, or say 5*s.* 7*d.* per week—the earnings of the spinners being from 2 to 3 francs per day; piecers—that is, children—50 centimes to 1 franc. It must be observed that the best kind of work and the finer qualities of yarn only are done at Mulhausen. Now, let us see the sort of food to which these poor people are condemned.

"The nourishment alone of a poor family of working people, composed of six persons—the husband, the wife, and four children—costs him 33 or 34 sous per day, as thus:

"Bread	65	centimes.
"Five litres of potatoes	35	do.
"One fourth pound butter	20	do.
"One fourth pound salt	7 1-2	do.
"One fourth pound coffee	15	do.
"One fourth pound sirup	10	do.
"One litre of milk	15	do.

"Total, 1 franc 67½ centimes, or 16¾*d.* sterling per day.

"It will be seen that not one ounce of butcher's meat enters into the catalogue, nor clothing, rent, &c. The price of bread was then from 12 to 15 centimes the pound—that is, from a fraction less than 1¼*d.* to 1½*d.* per pound. The sort of living is thus summed up by Dr. Villerme:

"For the poorest of the cotton operatives, such as those of the spinneries, weaving establishments, and certain laborers, the nourishment is composed commonly of potatoes, which are the chief; of *soupes maigres*—that is, soup of water and herbs; a little bad milk, bad pastry, and bread. The latter is, fortunately, of good quality enough. They never eat butcher's meat, nor drink wine (*vin ordinaire*), but the day or the day after pay-day; that is to say, *twice a month.*"

Our ships go out to France in ballast, carrying specie to pay for the luxuries we import, while our granaries are bursting with grain, and the laborers of France are starving for bread.

TABLE XXIII.

Statement showing the extent of land sown with grain in France, and annual produce of corn in that kingdom.

Regions.	SUPERFICIES, IN HECTARES, SOWN WITH GRAIN.							
	Wheat.	Spelter, or red wheat.	Maslin.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Maize.	Total.
Northeast -	1,584,334.59	4,222.53	255,001.67	455,437.98	452,202.88	1,266.956.28	29,451.45	4,047,607.38
Southeast -	953,635.69	510.90	112,458.49	913,808.10	133,226.37	314,226.43	62,725.11	2,490,591.09
Northwest -	1,465,704,83	–	373,111.41	555,808.59	382,565.49	1,131,659.41	16,638.62	3,925,488.35
Southwest -	1,543,192.83	–	169,855.02	648,045.35	196,937.81	287,781.07	522,378.38	3,368,190.46
Total of continental France -	5,546,867.94	4,733.43	910,426.59	2,573,100.02	1,164,932.55	3,000,623.19	631,193.56	13,831,877.28
Total of Corsica -	39,918.59	–	506.00	4,153.86	23,256.98	11.	538.33	68,384.76
General total -	5,586,786.53	4,733.43	910,932.59	2,577,253.88	1,188,189.53	3,000,634.19	631,731.89	13,900,262.04
Total in English acres - -	13,808,171½	11.715¼	2,251.438¾	6,369,879 nearly.	2,936,450¾	7,416,297½	1,561.372 nearly.	34,355,566

STATEMENT—Continued.

Regions.	PRODUCE IN HECTOLITRES.							
	Wheat.	Spelter, or red wheat.	Maslin.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Maize.	Total.
Northeast -	21,467,060	132,055	3,461,396	4,844,301	6,370,278	19,685,159	446,305	56,406,554
Southeast -	10,744,544	4,072	1,204,193	8,894,300	1,873,720	4,574,093	894,297	28,189,219
Northwest -	21,960,498	–	5,423,330	7,679,416	6,059,276	21,078,583	232,798	62,433,901
Southwest -	14,982,361	–	4,735,995	6,354,596	2,140,756	3,561,816	9,036,880	34,812,405
Total of continent- France -	69,154,463	136,127	11,824,914	27,772,613	16,444,030	48,899,652	7,610,280	181,842,079
Total of Corsica -	403,599	–	4,534	39,087	217,432	133	9,984	674,769
General total -	69,558,062	136,127	11,829,448	27,811,700	16,661,462	48,899,785	7,620,264	182,516,848
Total in imperial bushels -	191,284,670½	374,348¾	32,530,982	76,482,175	45,819,020½	134,474,408¾	20,955,726	501,921,332
Bushels per acre -	13.9	31.9	14.4	12.0	15.6	18.1	13.4	14.6

A. MOREAU DE JONNES,
Chief of the Statistical Department at the Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture.

It is estimated that 16 per cent. of the product of grain is used as seed, and 19 per cent. as food for animals.

TABLE XXIV.

Showing the average price of wheat in France, at the end of October, in each year, from 1819 *to* 1836, *with the equivalents in English measure and value.*

[From M'Culloch's Dictionary.]

Years.	Per Hect.	Per Quarter.
	fr. c.	*s. d.*
1819	15 29	35 0
1820	19 56	44 9
1821	15 99	36 8
1822	15 55	35 7
1823	15 72	35 11
1824	14 46	33 0
1825	15 24	34 11
1826	15 55	35 7
1827	18 77	43 8
1828	21 69	49 8
1829	21 60	49 5
1830	23 29	53 4
1831	22 88	52 5
1832	18 67	42 9
1833	15 42	35 4
1834	14 56	33 4
1835	13 95	32 0
1836	17 3	39 0

The averaging the whole period is 17*fr.* 51*c.* per hect.; equal to 40*s.* 1*d.* per quarter. The lowest average was in 1838—17*fr.* 3*c.*, or 39*s.* per quarter. The lowest British annual average was in 1835—39*f.* 4*d.* The lowest weekly general average was in October—37*s.*; which was lower than wheat had been known since 1780.

These valuable tables, interesting in several respects, show that the ordinary crop of France is equal to about fifteen bushels of grain of all kinds to each of her 35,000,000 of population, which may be considered a moderate supply for all purposes, so that in favorable seasons something is furnished for export, but in bad seasons great distress occurs. It is believed, however, that an average of fifteen bushels of all kinds of grain in a country full of horses and cattle, of soldiers and trade, is only a subsisting supply, for in this country we raise forty-five bushels, and certainly we do not yet find a yearly surplus of two hundred millions of bushels. Either we use a great deal more, or the people of France a great deal less than is requisite for necessity and comfort.

Some additional articles of information bearing on the object of this memorial, together with a number of valuable statistical tables, your memorialist asks leave to add as an appendix to this paper.

It is proper to observe further, that while your memorialist has confined this examination exclusively to the subject of wheat, in which the States of the northwest are more peculiarly interested, it should, at the same time, be understood that the trade in other kinds of grain, in salted meat, and in provisions generally, is regulated by the same principles of general policy, and that whatever relaxation may take place in the corn laws will be accompa-

nied with a corresponding change in the restrictions on the importation of other provisions in which other States of the Union have an equal interest, while the revival of trade and general prosperity which would not fail even now to follow speedily upon the entire abrogation of the restrictive system, would diffuse its advantages equally over the whole country.

THE CONCLUSION.

Your memorialist, in conclusion, respectfully prays Congress to meet this desirable prospect of change in foreign legislation, by incorporating in any new tariff act which may be passed a provision like the following: "That, whenever it shall be made to appear, to the satisfaction of the President of the United States, that grain, flour, and salted meats, the production of the United States, the property of citizens of the United States, and carried in vessels of the United States, are admitted into the several ports and places of any foreign state or kingdom *duty free*, the President is authorized to make proclamation thereof, and to announce that in three months from the issuing of such proclamation, the duties imported by this act on all articles the production of such state or kingdom, shall be reduced one third [or one fourth]: *Provided*, That no *ad valorem* duty shall be reduced below twenty per centum: *And provided, also*, That this section shall cease to be in force in regard to any state or kingdom which shall cease to admit the aforesaid articles duty free, or which shall impose higher duties than are now imposed on any other articles the production of the United States."

This provision, it is believed, is adapted to either of the tariff bills now before Congress, and might be modified to suit any other system which may be adopted.

Twenty per centum has been for many years considered the lowest proper rate of duties for mere purposes of revenue, and it has been generally believed that in prosperous times such a duty would yield a sufficient revenue for the purposes of Government in time of peace. The imposition of such a duty may be considered as the settled policy of the nation, with sole reference to the necessary revenue.

The duties on provisions imposed by European Governments are designed exclusively for the protection of their own agricultural and landed interests.

In proposing to meet their admission of our provisions duty free by a reduction of ours to the lowest revenue standard, reference is had to the great difference in bulk and consequent expense of freight between their products and ours, almost equivalent to a duty of twenty per cent., and also to the advantage which other countries would gain by the greatly increased demand for their goods, consequent upon an increased ability upon our part to pay for imported articles.

It is supposed that an impulse which would be imparted to trade and to general prosperity, and the consequent increase of importations to be paid for, not with specie, but the products of our agriculture, would more than make up any falling off of revenue to be apprehended from the contemplated reduction of duties.

At any rate, a reduction of duties to twenty per cent. is as much as our policy will admit, and it is not reasonable to pronounce it not worth offering, until it has been offered and refused.

By proposing the admission of our products duty free, we place ourselves at once in line with our friends in other countries, who are seeking the total abolition of all duties upon food.

An offer of a great reduction or entire abandonment of duties, has this advantage over a system of countervailing or retaliatory duties, that the latter method is essentially of the nature of war, where each is trying which can do the other the most harm; whereas, the method now proposed is of the nature of good neighborhood, an offer to promote the mutual advantage of all by reciprocal concessions and benefits.

Should this proposition be adopted by Congress, and be speedily met by the desired return on the part of England, in the repeal of the duties on provisions, it would have the effect, which so far as appears, no other change can have, of furnishing an immediate market for our present surplus of provisions. The newspapers are saying that the present harvest will yield a surplus of three millions of bushels of wheat in Michigan alone. How long will it take to condense a manufacturing population in this country to consume the entire surplus of the northwest? It is said that throughout large sections of the country, the breadth of land sown with wheat is three times greater than ever before. What shall be done with that crop, during the uncertain number of years it may take to build up manufactures enough to make an adequate market?

It would prevent the influx of pauperized laborers of Europe to this country, by furnishing them with employment and food at home. This would leave emigration to its natural and healthful flow, and save an immense amount of misery to individuals, as well as many evils to both countries.

It would preserve to us the natural advantages of our situation in the possession of an immense domain of land unburdened with taxes. It would prevent, what otherwise seems inevitable, the reduction of the prices of labor to the European standard, by bringing the same laborers to compete together here who have there kept down wages to the starvation point.

It would affect beneficially every section of the country, and do more than anything which has occurred in the present generation to unite all parties in the bonds of a mutual and common advantage.

Your memorialist has included in his proposal no other agricultural products but provisions, because the two other principal agricultural exports of the country stand on grounds entirely different. Cotton is hardly taxed at all, and the duty on tobacco is laid entirely for purposes of revenue. That neither protection nor exclusion is the object, is evident from the fact, that in England the home production of tobacco is absolutely prohibited, and in France it is allowed to be cultivated only in four of the departments, and there under great restrictions. It must be very difficult for either of these Governments to forego the revenue they derive from tobacco, whereas the revenue from the duties on provisions is a mere trifle, not entering into the account on the question of repeal. It is the opinion of many persons interested, that the present arrangement is even more beneficial to the American growers of tobacco, than would be a reduction of the duties, accompanied, as it doubtless would be, with a removal of the restrictions upon home production. In a document communicated to the House of Representatives by the Secretary of the Treasury, May 28, 1842, are several letters from tobacco-growers to this effect. One gentleman, a distinguished planter of Powhatan county, Virginia, thus reasons the matter:

"I am aware that many intelligent and distinguished gentlemen have attached great importance to the high duties in some of the foreign markets, as operating injuriously to the interests of our tobacco planters, and

that efforts have been made, for the last several years, to procure a reduction of these duties; they have, I think, thus far, been unavailing, as I think they will continue to be. With due deference to the better judgment of those who have been most zealous in attempts to get the duties on tobacco reduced, I am not clear in the opinion that our planters would reap the great benefits counted on as resulting from reduced duties. In the first place, I question its increasing the consumption to any very important extent. It is a luxury of which each individual consumes but a small quantity, and therefore the annual cost to each, even with high duties, is not large; it is a stimulant that the consumers will have, though they be obliged to deny themselves some of the necessaries of life. But what would be the effects of largely increased consumption? Inducements to extended cultivation in this and other countries, and to its cultivation in countries not now producing it. Is it not probable that the increased supplies would at least equal the increased consumption? And if so, there would be no advance in prices. May not the policy of encouraging, under any circumstances, the extension of the culture of tobacco in the United States be questioned?

"I am, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

"RICHARD ANDERSON.

"Hon. EDMUND W. HUBARD,

"*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*"

This appears to be a sufficient reason for keeping the two interests separate, beside the additional consideration that tobacco is a luxury, and an attempt to coerce the extension of its use seems somewhat akin to the opium-war upon China; whereas the promotion of a free market for the means of human sustenance is but an angel-visit of mercy to the starving poor.

In fine, your memorialist urges the adoption of this plan, because, if it comes to nothing, it can do no harm to any, while if it should succeed, it is fraught with benefits innumerable to all parts of our own country, to the countries which may become interested in it, and to the general interests of humanity, of peace, of civilization, and of universal improvement.

Your memorialist respectfully asks that this document, if thought not unworthy of notice, may be published for general information.

JOSHUA LEAVITT.

BOSTON, *June*, 1842.

APPENDIX.

[A.]

Memorial of Joshua Leavitt, praying the adoption of measures to secure an equitable and adequate market for American wheat.

FEBRUARY 27, 1841.

Referred to the Committee on Agriculture, and ordered to be printed.

To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress convened:

The undersigned, a citizen of New Jersey, respectfully solicits the attention of Congress to the following memoir, presenting a few considerations connected with the wheat product of the northwest.

The six northwestern States (including, as such, the two territorial Governments, soon to be admitted as States) of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, spread over a surface of 236,211 square miles, not including the portion of Wisconsin and Iowa still held by the Indians. Being situated in a temperate and healthful climate, with the greatest natural facilities for communication abroad, with a soil of amazing fertility, they constitute a region of country as well adapted to the residence, support, improvement, and happiness of man, as any equal portion of the globe. Their present population is 2,969,696, being only 12.6 to a square mile. Of the 178,606,672 acres of land in those States (excluding Indian lands as above), 72,693,414 acres, or 40 per cent., have already passed into private ownership by sales, grants, or reserves; leaving 105,923,258 acres in the hands of the Federal Government. In the settlement and value of this land, the national Treasury has a deep interest, as may be seen in the fact that it has already received the sum of $72,214,932 from the actual sale of 52,166,414 acres in these States. The land in private ownership gives 24.5 acres to each inhabitant, and is more by 11,771,414 acres than all the land in Great Britain and Ireland that is capable of cultivation. The land actually sold by the Government may be regarded as all bought for cultivation, and exceeds by more than five millions the quantity now under cultivation in the United Kingdom. The sales in the last eight years are 31,758,666 acres, being only two and a quarter millions less than the land now cultivated in the island of Great Britain. Of this quantity, 10,068,999 acres, or 31 per cent., were sold in the last four years, since the season of speculation was over; which fact, taken in connexion with the vast influx of immigration during the preceding four years, conclusively proves that a much smaller proportion of the land sales of that remarkable period, in these States, were taken for speculation than is generally supposed. At the rate of sales of the whole eight years, the lands in these States would be entirely disposed of in less than twenty years; and at the rate of the last four years, the whole would be sold in seventy-two years.

The whole quantity of land in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is 77,394,433 acres; of which 46,922,970, or 60.6 per cent., is cultivated; giving an average of but 1.88 acres to each inhabitant, of the 27,704,118 supposed to be the present population of those islands. Fourteen millions, or 18 per cent. more, are deemed capable of cultivation; leaving 15,871,463 acres, or 20.4 per cent. of the whole, worthless for human subsistence. At the same rate of productiveness with the cultivated land in the United Kingdom, the land already sold by the Government should produce subsistence for nearly thirty millions of people, while the vast quantity still unsold admits of a nearly proportionate increase. The lands being all held in fee simple, in farms of sufficient size to insure the greatest product with the least labor, unencumbered with rents, tithes, or poor-laws, and no part engrossed by noblemen's parks or royal forests, the products may be expected to reach this amount far in advance of the proportionate increase of population, provided such a market shall be found for the surplus as will furnish the adequate motives and rewards of industry. It is to this point that the attention of Congress is particularly requested.

The actual increase of population in these States shows that there is something in our land system, our freedom from taxation, and the general character of free institutions, as spread over this region by the benign influence of the ordinance of 1787, eminently calculated to impart a healthy vigor to a rising empire, beyond any precedent in the history of the world. Forty years ago, the whole civilized population of this district was but 50,240; now, it is 2,970,696. The ratio of increase during each decennial period of this century is 483,202.85, and 102 per cent. The numerical increase of the last ten years is 1,502,604, being more in number than the whole increase of England and Wales during the first sixty years of the last century. The increase per cent. is greater than the increase per cent. of England and Wales during the whole of that century.

Of the actual growth of trade, it is impossible to speak with equal precision, although some valuable data for an estimate may be found in the appended tables. So great has been the influx of immigrants, that it is only within three or four years that large portions of this district, the best adapted for wheat, have ceased to import bread-stuffs, and it is but just now that the actual pressure of a surplus of these products *begins* to be felt upon the general market of the country; barely suggesting to the wisest forecast what is to be. Let the estimate of the future be formed in view of the tables, and of the facts, that the soil is as fertile as any other, with a smaller proportion of waste land, from rocks, mountains, or swamps, than in any region of equal extent; that there are no barrens; that both soil and climate are favorable to the production of provisions of all kinds, while at least two thirds of the whole is eminently adapted to the culture of wheat; that the population is almost exclusively agricultural, with the advantage of owning every man his farm in fee—purchased, too, at so low a rate that no probable reduction of prices can bring their lands down to the original cost, while cultivation is constantly increasing their value, instead of turning them to waste, as in some regions; that the character of the people, for industry, skill, education, general intelligence, order, and regard for law, is surpassed by few other sections of the world—affording assurance that they will always raise as much produce as they can, if there is a market for it, and will always require as much of the products of other regions,

in manufactured goods and other comforts, as they can pay for, while their general integrity and the reign of just laws afford a guarantee that they will not run in debt to buy what they can not see a way to pay for by the products of their labor. The trade of such a country will be limited only by the physical ability of the people, stimulated to the highest industry by the wants of the most civilized state of society, unless it is clogged by obstructions interposed by the policy of our own or other Governments.

Until the year 1805, wheat, chiefly in the form of flour, was the leading article of export from this to foreign countries. The average value for the five years preceding the one named, was $8,205,000. In that year, cotton reached the value of $9,445,500, and took the precedence of wheat, which it has since maintained. The increase since, in the value of domestic products exported yearly, is about fifty-two millions of dollars, the whole of which is in cotton; while the value of wheat and flour has sunk to the fourth place in the columns of exports. The settlement of the wheat region of the northwest, to such an extent as to begin to furnish a surplus, already increases the export of this product; while the prospect for the future calls upon the philosophic statesman and merchant to look upon this growing interest with the deepest concern.

Wheat flour—from its value, its lightness of freight, capability of preservation, and adaptedness to the wants of different countries, as well as the natural indications of the soil and the abundance of water-power, either in that country or along the lines of communication with the sea-board—wheat flour must be the principal reliance of the northwest for foreign export, and for the means of paying for articles of necessity or comfort brought from abroad. The more extended introduction of this staple into our foreign trade would not only increase the actual commerce and revenue to that extent, but would tend to relieve our general monetary interests from the severity of the fluctuations arising from the present almost exclusive reliance upon a single staple. But the most advantageous foreign markets for wheat are grievously obstructed, and rendered so uncertain and fluctuating as to be nearly valueless to the American farmer, by the corn laws of Great Britain and France.

The British corn law, as settled in 1828, by the act of 9 Geo. IV, c. 60, is one of the most ingeniously contrived schemes that can well be imagined, calculated to injure the grain-growing interests of other countries, and the grain-consuming portions of its own people, without, it is believed, a corresponding advantage to the agricultural interest, for whose benefit it was intended. The variable scale of duties, rising as the price of grain falls, and falling as the price rises, is but little understood in this country. The "general average," as it is called, is declared every Thursday, at the exchequer; and is obtained by first finding the average of all the grains sold during the week ending on the preceding Saturday, at 150 of the principal towns and markets, and then taking an average of this with the five last preceding general averages; and this last is the declared or general average for that week. When the declared average of wheat is 73*s.*, or upward, per quarter of 8 bushels, the duty is 1*s.*; and when the price is 52*s.*, or under, the duty is 34*s.* 8*d.*; the intermediate duties being graduated by a scale or tariff. Wheat and flour may be stored under bond for any length of time, without paying duties, and re-exported at pleasure.

The object of this complicated arrangement is, first, to protect the landholders against foreign competition, and keep up the rent of land so as to

sustain the load of taxation imposed by the public debt; secondly, to secure the people against the danger of famine, to which, from the density of population, and the uncertainty of the seasons, they are greatly exposed; and, thirdly, to prevent, as far as possible, great fluctuations in the price of grain. The attempt to overrule the great and irreversible laws of trade, which strike the balance between demand and supply—or, in other words, to prevent fluctuations in a market where the demand was constant and the supply variable—could not but fail. Twenty years ago, it was considered that a deficiency of one tenth in the harvest would raise the price of wheat three tenths, and a deficiency of one third would treble the price. This thermometrical sensitiveness of the market increases, as the increase of population overpasses the increase of production. The yearly consumption of all kinds of grain in Great Britain is estimated at 52,000,000 quarters, equal to 416,000,000 of bushels, or 15 bushels to each inhabitant; of which 13,000,000 of quarters, or 104,000,000 bushels, being $3\frac{3}{4}$ bushels to each inhabitant, is wheat. The supply of 4,500,000, or nearly 9 per cent., in 1839, was at an average price of 70*s.*, which was 80 per cent. above the price in 1835, and nearly 50 per cent. above that of 1836. In the ten years, 1829 to 1838, the yearly range between the highest and lowest weekly average, averaged 15*s.* 4*d.*, equal to 30 per cent. The greatest fluctuation was in 1828, rising from 52*s.* 4*d.* to 78*s.* 4*d.*, making a range of 50 per cent. These fluctuations of the market in England produce still more disastrous fluctuations in the markets from which supplies are to be drawn. In the ten years above named, the yearly fluctuations were 54 per cent. on an average; and in 1838, the fluctuation was 154 per cent.

In those ten years, prices ranged from 36*s.* to 78*s.* 4*d.*—a range of 42*s.* 4*d.*, or 118 per cent. The average of the whole is about 56*s.* In 1828, the price rose, between 28th September and 24th October, from 68*s.* 6*d.* to 76*s.* 6*d.*—eight shillings in four weeks. In 1829, it fell, between 6th August and 17th September, from 71*s.* 6*d.* to 55*s.* 4*d.*, or 2*s.* 8*d.* a week. The general weekly averages, taken year by year, vary, on an average, 1*s.* per week; and the weekly reports of a single market (Liverpool, for instance) fluctuate up and down, on an average, about 1*s.* 6*d.* per week per quarter, equal to $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents in a bushel of wheat, or $2 34 a year.

The commercial effect of this system has been to encourage speculation. The moment a deficiency appears in the slightest degree probable, the grain-dealers naturally withhold their stock on hand from the market; orders are sent to the continent for grain, to be imported in bond, to be entered as soon as the fall of duties will answer; prices are pushed up by all the arts of trade; and, as soon as the duty sinks to the desired rate (say 6*s.* 8*d.*), the whole stock in bond is entered for consumption, and thus added to the general stock; and, if the deficiency proves imaginary, or small, prices fall as rapidly as they rose before, the duty runs up again, and the speculators have received the whole benefit. Thus a gambling character is imparted to trade, as detrimental to commercial morals as to the general prosperity. From July, 1828, to December, 1838, the quantity entered was 6,788,880 quarters, of which 5,088,946, or 75 per cent., paid duties not exceeding 6*s.* 8*d.*, and of this 3,225,263, or nearly 50 per cent. of the whole quantity, paid only 1*s.* duty. In the year 1837, there were entered for consumption 232,793 quarters wheat, and 40,187 cwt. flour, paying duties to the amount of £306,860. In the year 1838, there were entered 1,740,806 quarters wheat, and 393,847 cwt. flour—being more than seven times the

quantity of wheat, and nearly ten times the quantity of flour entered the preceding year, paying only £146,533 duties, or less than 50 per cent.; whereas, had the rate of duty been equal in both years, the duty in the latter would have been £2,303,129. From 1st September, 1838, to 30th November, 1839, duty was paid on 4,532,651 quarters wheat, the prices ranging in the time from 61*s.* 10*d.* to 18*s.* 4*d.*, and the duties ranging from 1*s.* to 20*s.* 8*d.*; but the average of duties was under 3*s.* 7*d.*

The tendency of this system to general impoverishment, and to the increase of misery and discontent among the poorer classes, is already awakening intense observation in Great Britain. The manufactories stop work, because orders do not come from America; and the orders are not sent, because that with which payment might be made to a large amount will not be received on any just and reasonable terms. The goods are wanted here, and our free industry is abundantly able to produce the means of payment; but the great staple of the northwest is under an edict. The operatives are thrown out of employment, and reduced to the lowest means of subsistence, and unable to consume a full measure of the products of agriculture, and thousands are made paupers, and become an absolute charge upon the land. The consumption of agricultural products is diminished; the agricultural laborers share the common distress; and agriculture itself, the very object sought to be benefited by this unnatural arrangement, is oppressed by its own protection. It is demonstrable that a well-employed, well-paid, well-fed, prosperous community of operatives would consume and pay for more agricultural products, in addition to the wheat they might import from America, than a depressed and starving community would without the wheat.

The best authorities agree that a very large proportion of the misery which we hear of among the factory children is the result of the corn laws; first diminishing the employment and the wages of the parent, and then raising the price of his provisions, until sheer want drives him to sacrifice his children for bread! Thus, while we are wanting goods (not, indeed, the necessaries of life, but the comforts of civilized and refined life), our national revenue falling short, and our granaries bursting with abundance, England's mills are standing still, and her poor perishing with hunger. Surely, the common instincts of our nature, the enlightened and philosophic benevolence which regards human happiness as the great object of human society and government, require a faithful examination of this system by all nations.

The question, where Great Britain is to look for supplies of wheat to meet either the occasional though frequent deficiencies of her harvests, arising from her uncertain climate; or the regular demand, now not very distant, caused by the increase of population beyond production, is one already exciting the attention of her statesmen and political economists. The Baltic countries are an unsafe reliance, because it is supposed they have already reached their maximum. Ireland, from which large quantities of grain have been brought, is now in the process of a great moral and social revolution, which, by enabling every peasant to eat his daily *bread*, will not only furnish a home market for Irish wheat, but, ere long, create a demand for American flour in exchange for Irish linen. The quantity of wheat brought from Ireland in 1832 was 552,740 quarters; in 1839, but 90,600 quarters. The Black sea is another source, but the wheat is of inferior quality; few British goods are taken in payment, leaving the balance to be met with specie; the voyage is long, and wheat very likely to be injured; and the cost of freight enormously disproportioned—the cost of freight and charges from Odessa

being from 16*s.* to 19*s.* per quarter. The six northwestern States of this Union, with their present products, consumption of goods, and capability of increase, exactly meet the exigency. The examinations made by the persons employed last year in taking the census, show that the product of wheat in those States, exclnding Wisconsin, in the year 1839, was 25,241,607 bushels, equal to 8.6 bushels to each inhabitant; of Indian corn, 87,620,868 bushels, or 30.02 to each inhabitant; of other kinds of grain, ———— bushels, or —— to each inhabitant; and the total of all kinds of grain was ———— bushels, being —— bushels to each inhabitant. There can be no doubt that the product of 1840 was *very much* greater than this; but there are no means of ascertaining the extent of the increase. In some extensive sections, it has been estimated at one fourth, and even one third. The wheat crop of the whole United States (excepting North Carolina and Kentucky) was 75,995,787 bushels, or 5 bushels to each person; and, of Indian corn, the crop was 301,947,658 bushels, or 20 bushels to each person.

If we now turn again to the six northwestern States and Territories of the Union, we shall find that one of the greatest interests of the nation is the filling up of those countries with a sufficient population to complete the social organization. Without requiring that they should be made as populous as England, with her 294 inhabitants to a square mile, it may be safely assumed that the structure of society will not be rendered complete, in a country so destitute of mountains and waste lands, with a less population than 50 to a square mile; of this number, they now have but a quarter. Any policy, or course of events, which hinders the influx of population, is therefore calculated to protract the period of comparative unorganization.

In addition, those States have burdened themselves with heavy debts,—all incurred for the purpose of making roads, canals, and railways. All these improvements were calculated with reference to the conveyance of the products of the soil to markets out of their borders, and all converging, in effect, towards the great Atlantic seaports, whence those products should seek a European market. The stocks of these States are greatly discredited,—chiefly, it is believed, through the unfortunate neglect of a well-established axiom in finance, which forbids the creation of a public debt, without a specific pledge of revenue, from taxes or some other source, sufficient to prevent the accumulation of interest. And even now, the States are reluctant to tax themselves, and greatly injuring the credit of the country by delay, because they do not see a fair prospect of sale for the products of their land, which is all they have to sell. And how are they to acquire the means of paying the taxes necessary to sustain these stocks, unless they have a market for their staples? And how are these public improvements ever to pay for themselves, unless the produce of the country can be carried on them? And whither shall it be carried, if there is to be no foreign market?

The Federal Government has expended more than a million of dollars in creating artificial harbors on the upper lakes; and two or three millions more are required to complete them in such a way, that what has been done shall not be destroyed. In addition, harbors are required by the most urgent necessity along the coast of Lake Michigan, now, for hundreds of miles, entirely destitute of a shelter for shipping. These works are all standing still because the revenue is short; while the tooth of time is rapidly consuming the unfinished constructions.

Should it, indeed, come to be settled that there is to be no foreign market for these products, the fine country under contemplation is not, therefore,

to be despaired of. *Let the necessity once become apparent*, and there will be but one mind among the people of the northwest. The same patriotism which carried our fathers through the self-denying non-importation agreement of the Revolution, will produce a fixed determination to build up a home market, at every sacrifice. And it can be done. What has been done already in the way of manufactures, shows that it can be done. The recent application of the hot-blast with anthracite coal to the making of iron, and the discovery of a mine of natural steel, would be auxiliaries of immense value. We could draw to our factories the best workmen of Europe, attracted less by the temptation of wages, than by the desire to leave liberty and land as the inheritance of their children. But it would take a long time to build up a manufacturing interest adequate to supply the wants of the northwest, or to consume the produce of those wide fields; and the burden of taxation for internal improvements, uncompleted and unproductive, would be very heavy and hard to bear; and all the population that is concentrated upon manufactures, is so much kept back from the occupation of that noble domain; and the national Treasury would feel the effects of the curtailment of imports and the cessation of land sales; and the amount of misery which the loss of the American market would occasion to the starving operatives and factory children on the other side of the Atlantic, is worthy to be taken into the account, by every statesman who has not forgotten that he is a man.

On the other hand, let it be supposed, for a moment, that the landholders of England would be satisfied with a fixed and moderate duty, in addition to the protection afforded by the cost of freight and importation, now amounting to 30 per cent. of the net proceeds. There would then be a constant market for wheat in England, to which the uncommonly uniform climate of the northwest would furnish a constant and full supply; and the whole returns would be required in British manufactured goods, generally of the description that yields the greatest profit. Immediately, orders would go from this country to set every wheel, and spindle, and hammer, in motion. Immediately, these States would be willing to tax themselves for the interest of the public debt, because they would see how taxes could be paid. Immediately, the State stocks would rise, because the interest would be secured, with a certainty that the public works would be completed and rendered productive. The manufacturing industry of England, and the agricultural industry of the northwest, would be stimulated to the highest productiveness, by the best of all encouragements—the hope of a fair reward. The great cotton staple, too, would feel the benefit of a new and healthy impulse given to trade. The public works would be finished, and the lines of communication now open would be thronged with freight. New York would abolish her duty on salt, for the sake of securing to her own enlarged canal the transportation of the produce from the Ohio, the Maumee, the Wabash, the Illinois, and the Wisconsin canals, now strongly tending in that direction.

The demand for the public lands would pour a steady stream into the national Treasury on the one hand; to be met by a deeper current from the imports on the other, furnishing an adequate revenue for the completion of our harbor works and national defences. The exports, no longer confined to a single staple, and drawn from the most productive of all branches of labor—the cultivation of a rich soil that costs next to nothing—would keep foreign exchanges in a healthy state; new ties of mutual advantage, and new inducements to mutual justice, forbearance, and peace, would arise

between two nations of common origin, from whose influence the world has so much to hope for; our own manufactures would be left, under their present protection, to a healthy and natural growth with the growth of the country; and our nation would be saved from another tariff controversy, to occupy and imbitter the debates of another political generation.

Are not these objects worthy of the consideration of American statesmen? May an obscure citizen, who loves his country, be pardoned for his presumption in spreading these imperfect suggestions before the American Senate?

Your memorialist respectfully requests that useful information may be collected and diffused respecting the wheat product of the northwest; the condition and extent of the foreign market now open for American wheat and flour; the obstructions interposed by the regulations of foreign governments, aad the probability of any repeal or modification of those regulations; and that Congress will adopt such measures as shall be deemed wise and proper, to secure an equitable and adequate market for this valuable product.

Your memorialist has prepared, from the best materials in his reach, with some labor, a number of tables illustrative of several of the topics in this memoir, which are appended hereto.

JOSHUA LEAVITT.

Washington City, *February* 25, 1841.

[B.]

TABLES.

THE SLIDING SCALE OF 1842.

[PREPARED BY EDWIN WILLIAMS, FOR THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE,]

The following table shows the operation of Sir Robert Peel's proposed sliding scale of duties on wheat and flour imported into Great Britain from foreign countries:

Price per quarter of eight bushels.	Price per bushel.	Duty.		Duty on flour.
Under 51 shillings - -	$1 53	20s. p. quarter	60 cts. p. bush.	$2 89 p. barrel.
51 shillings to 52 shillings -	1 56	19 do	57 do	2 74 do
52 do 55 do -	1 65	18 do	54 do	2 60 do
55 do 56 do -	1 68	17 do	51 do	2 45 do
56 do 57 do -	1 71	16 do	48 do	2 31 do
57 do 58 do -	1 74	15 do	45 do	2 17 do
58 do 59 do -	1 77	14 do	42 do	2 03 do
59 do 60 do -	1 80	13 do	39 do	1 88 do
60 do 61 do -	1 83	12 do	36 do	1 73 do
61 do 62 do -	1 86	11 do	33 do	1 59 do
62 do 63 do -	1 89	10 do	30 do	1 45 do
63 do 64 do -	1 92	9 do	27 do	1 31 do
64 do 65 do -	1 95	8 do	24 do	1 16 do
65 do 66 do -	1 98	7 do	21 do	1 01 do
66 do 69 do -	2 07	6 do	18 do	86 do
69 do 70 do -	2 10	5 do	15 do	72 do
70 do 71 do -	2 13	4 do	12 do	57 do
71 do 72 do -	2 16	3 do	9 do	43 do
72 do 73 do -	2 19	2 do	6 do	28 do
73 do or above -	–	1 do	3 do	14 do

THE OLD AND NEW SCALES COMPARED.

[BY EDWIN WILLIAMS.]

Price per quarter of eight bushels.	Duties by new sliding scale.		Duties by old sliding scale.	
	Per bushel, wheat.	Per barrel, flour.	Per bushel, wheat.	Per barrel, flour.
73s. (or over)	3 cents.	14 cts.	3 cts.	14 cts.
72 do	6	28	8	38
71 do	9	43	20	93
70 do	12	57	32	$1 54
69 do	15	72	41	1 97
68 do	18	86	50	2 41
67 do	18	86	56	2 69
66 do	18	86	62	2 98
65 do	21	$1 01	65	3 12
64 do	24	1 16	68	3 26
63 do	27	1 31	71	3 42
62 do	30	1 45	74	3 56
61 do	33	1 59	77	3 71
60 do	36	1 73	80	3 85
59 do	39	1 88	83	3 99
58 do	42	2 03	86	4 14
57 do	45	2 17	89	4 28
56 do	48	2 31	92	4 42
55 do	51	2 45	95	4 56
54 do	54	2 60	98	4 72
53 do	54	2 60	$1 01	4 86
52 do	57	2 74	1 04	5 00
51 do	60	2 89	1 07	5 14
Under 51s.	60	2 89	1 10	5 29

CORRESPONDING VALUES.

[BY THE MEMORIALIST.]

Corresponding values of wheat per bushel in Federal currency, with wheat per quarter in sterling money; and of flour per barrel in Federal and sterling money, with the corresponding value of wheat per quarter.

Wheat.		Flour.		
Bushel.	Quarter.	Barrel.	Per 196 pounds.	Per quarter.
	s. *d.*		*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*
60 cts.	30 4	$4 00	24 3½	40 4
65	32 3	4 25	25 4½	42 1½
70	34 2	4 50	26 6½	44 0¾
75	36 1	4 75	27 8½	46 0
80	38 11	5 00	28 10½	47 11
85	40 0	5 25	29 11	49 6
90	41 11⅓	5 50	31 1	51 7
95	43 10½	5 75	32 3	53 6½
$1 00	45 9	6 00	33 5	55 5½
1 05	47 6½	6 50	35 8	59 3½
1 10	49 4	7 00	37 11½	63 0
1 15	51 3½	7 50	40 2½	66 9
1 20	53 2½	8 00	42 6	70 6⅓
1 25	55 0	8 50	44 9	72 10¾
1 30	57 0	9 00	47 0⅓	78 0
1 35	58 10½	9 50	49 3½	81 10
1 40	60 9½	10 00	51 7	85 1½

NOTE.—A barrel of flour is by law deemed equal to 38½ gallons of wheat; a quarter is eight bushels, or 64 gallons.

AMERICAN EXPORTS.

Average annual exports of wheat and flour from the United States to foreign countries, in each five years of the present century, with the total in barrels of flour and the value in dollars.

Years.	Wheat—bushels.	Flour—barrels.	Total, in barrels.	Value.
1800–'04 -	272,100	1,006,721	1,061,171	$8,205,000
1805–'09 -	272,571	784,032	838,537	6,765,000
1810–'14 -	177,025	1,028,228	1,063,633	10,104,000
1815–'19 -	91,047	995,869	1,914,078	10,193,750
1820–'24 -	15,404	962,903	965,984	5,093,988
1825–'29 -	19,650	846,681	851,610	4,581,882
1830–'34 -	122,354	1,118,000	1,142,471	5,442,118
1835–'39 -	33,950	594,915	601,765	4,586,570
1839 - -	96,325	923,151	942,416	7,079,361
1840 - -	807,743	1,838,538	1,855,086	10,985,644

Exports of flour and wheat from 1790 *to* 1838.

[From Hazard's Statistical Register, 1839.]

Years.	Bushels of wheat exported.	Average price of wheat in England.	Inspection of flour at different places.	Barrels of flour exported.	Average price of flour each year at Philadelphia.	Value of flour exported at average prices in Philadelphia.	Quantity of flour shipped to England.	Exports of flour from Canada.
		s. d.					Barrels.	Bbls.
1790	1,124,458	53 2	254,107	724,623	$5 56			
1791	1,018,339	47 2	321,578	619,681	5 22	$3,234,735		
1792	853,790	41 9	439,074	824,464	5 25	4,328,436		
1793	1,450,575	47 10	422,075	1,074,639	5 90	6,340,370	–	10,900
1794	698,797	50 8	300,751	846,010	6 90	5,837,469	–	13,700
1795	141,273	72 11	227,471	687,369	10 60	7,286,111	–	18,000
1796	31,226	76 3	196,955	725,194	12 50	9,064,955	–	4,300
1797	15,655	52 2	138,062	515,633	8 91	4,594,290	–	14,000
1798	15,021	50 4	100,475	567,558	8 20	4,653,975	–	9,500
1799	10,056	66 11	–	519,265	9 66	5,016,099	–	14,400
1800	26,853	110 5	325,818	653,052	9 86	6,439,092	172,815	20,000
1801	239,929	115 11	342,605	1,102,444	10 40	11,465,417	479,720	38,000
1802	280,281	67 9	426,012	1,156,248	6 90	7,978,111	208,744	28,200
1803	686,415	57 1	325,955	1,311,853	6 73	8,828,771	203,127	15,432
1804	127,024	60 5	394,961	810,008	8 23	6,666,365	7,140	14,067
1805	18,041	87 1	459,372	777,513	9 70	7,541,876	36,752	18,590
1806	86,784	76 9	474,521	782,724	7 30	5,713,885	127,619	10,997
1807	776,814	73 1	709,559	1,249,819	7 17	8,961,202	323,968	20,442
1808	87,330	78 11	406,411	263,813	5 69	1,501,095	2,922	42,462
1809	393,889	94 5	591,975	846,247	6 91	5,847,566	159,741	19,476
1810	325,924	103 3	527,267	798,431	9 37	7,481,298	92,136	12,519
1811	216,833	92 5	767,501	1,445,012	9 95	14,377,869	38,183	10,340
1812	53,832	122 8	1,215,697	1,443,492	9 83	14,189,526	28,429	37,625
1813	288,535	106 6	1,220,832	1,260,942	8 92	11,247,602	–	517
1814	–	72 1	708,448	193,274	8 60	1,662,156	–	1,217
1815	17,634	63 8	1,146,011	862,739	8 71	7,514,456	104,885	1,920
1816	62,321	76 2	1,121,461	729,053	9 78	7,130,138	5,572	1,135
1817	96,407	94 0	1,336,792	1,479,198	11 69	17,291,824	706,601	38,047
1818	196,808	83 8	1,205,105	1,157,697	9 96	11,530,662	389,530	30,543
1819	82,065	72 3	1,407,791	750,660	7 11	5,337,192	51,847	12,085
1820	22,137	65 10	1,877,109	1,177,036	4 72	5,555,609	171,772	45,369
1821	25,821	54 5	1,707,350	1,056,119	4 78	5,048,248	94,541	22,635
1822	4,418	43 3	1,599,976	827,865	6 58	5,447,351	12,096	47,247
1823	4,272	51 9	1,557,724	756,702	6 82	5,160,708	4,252	46,250
1824	20,373	62 0	1,714,400	996,792	5 62	5,601,971	70,873	41,901
1825	17,990	66 6	1,882,611	813,906	5 10	4,150,920	27,272	40,003
1826	45,166	56 11	2,031,555	857,820	4 65	3,988,863	18,355	33,640
1827	22,182	56 9	2,088,459	868,496	5 23	4,542,234	53,129	54,023
1828	8,906	60 5	2,206,078	860,809	5 60	4,820,530	23,258	35,720
1829	4,007	66 3	2,220,219	837,385	6 33	5,300,647	221,176	11,783
1830	45,289	64 3	2,851,876	1,227,434	4 83	5,928,506	326,182	71,749
1831	408,910	66 4	3,058,393	1,806,529	5 67	10,243,019	879,430	
1832	88,304	58 8	2,615,050	864,919	5 72	4,947,337	95,958	31,419
1833	32,421	52 11	2,815,606	955,768	5 63	5,380,974	22,207	51,435
1834	36,948	46 5	2,915,814	835,352	5 17	4,318,770	19,687	26,812
1835	47,762	39 4	2,856,448	779,396	5 88	4,582,848	5,376	16,976
1836	2,062	48 6	2,512,416	505,400	7 99	4,038,146	161	
1837	17,303	55 11	2,065,793	418,719	9 37	2,986,397		
1838	6,291	63 4	2,546,079	448,161	7 79	3,491,174	8,295	

Table showing the number of bushels of wheat, corn, rye, oats, barley, and buckwheat; the number of neat cattle, sheep, and swine; the value of poultry, butter, and cheese, and of the products of the orchard; and the number of pounds of rice, sugar, and cotton; as returned by the marshals for each State and Territory, in the year 1840.

States and Territories.	Bushels wheat.	Bushels corn.	Bushels rye.	Bushels oats.	Bushels barley.	Bushels buckwheat.	Bushels potatoes.	Number of neat cattle.
Maine	848,166	950,528	137,941	1,076,409	355,161	51,543	10,392,280	327,255
New Hampshire	422,124	1,162,572	308,148	1,296,114	121,899	105,103	6,206,606	275,562
Massachusetts	157,923	1,809,192	536,014	1,319,680	165,319	87,000	5,385,652	282,574
Rhode Island	3,098	450,498	34,521	171,517	66,490	2,979	911,973	36,891
Connecticut	87,009	1,500,441	737,424	1,453,262	33,759	303,043	3,414,238	238,650
Vermont	495,800	1,119,678	230,993	2,222,584	54,781	228,416	8,869,751	384,341
New York	12,286,418	10,972,286	2,979,323	20,675,847	2,520,068	2,287,885	30,123,614	1,911,244
New Jersey	774,203	4,361,975	1,665,820	3,083,524	12,501	856,117	2,072,069	220,202
Pennsylvania	13,213,077	14,240,022	6,613,873	20,641,819	209,893	2,113,742	9,535,663	1,172,665
Delaware	315,165	2,099,359	33,546	927,405	5,260	11,299	200,712	53,883
Maryland	3,345,783	8,233,086	723,577	3,534,211	3,594	73,606	1,036,433	225,714
Virginia	10,109,716	34,577,591	1,482,799	13,451,062	87,430	243,822	2,944,660	1,024,148
North Carolina	1,960,855	23,893,763	213,971	3,193,941	3,574	15,391	2,609,239	617,371
South Carolina	968,354	14,722,805	44,738	1,486,208	3,967	72	2,698,313	572,608
Georgia	1,801,830	20,905,122	60,693	1,610,030	12,979	141	1,291,366	884,414
Alabama	828,052	20,947,004	51,008	1,406,353	7,692	58	1,708,356	668,018
Mississippi	196,626	13,161,237	11,444	668,624	1,654	61	1,630,100	623,197
Louisiana	60	5,952,912	1,812	107,353	-	-	834,341	381,248
Tennessee	4,569,692	44,986,188	304,320	7,035,678	4,809	17,118	1,904,370	822,851
Kentucky	4,803,152	39,847,120	1,321,373	7,155,974	17,491	8,169	1,055,085	787,098
Ohio	16,571,661	33,668,144	814,205	14,393,103	212,440	633,139	5,805,021	1,217,874
Indiana	4,049,375	28,155,887	129,621	5,981,605	28,015	49,019	1,525,794	619,980
Illinois	3,335,393	22,634,211	88,197	4,988,008	82,251	57,884	2,025,520	626,274
Missouri	1,037,386	17,332,524	68,608	2,234,947	9,801	15,318	783,768	433,875
Arkansas	105,878	4,846,632	6,219	189,553	760	88	293,608	188,786
Michigan	2,157,108	2,277,039	34,236	2,114,051	127,802	113,592	2,109,205	185,190
Florida	412	808,974	305	13,829	30	-	264,617	118,081
Wisconsin	212,116	379,359	1,965	406,514	11,062	10,654	419,608	30,269
Iowa	154,693	1,406,241	3,792	216,385	728	6,212	234,063	38,049
District of Columbia	12,147	39,485	5,081	15,751	294	272	12,035	3,274
Total	84,823,272	377,531,875	18,645,567	123,071,341	4,161,504	7,291,743	108,298,060	14,971,586

TABLE—Continued.

States and Territories.	Number of sheep.	Number of swine.	Value of poultry.	Value of butter and cheese.	Value of the products of the orchard.	Pounds of rice.	Pounds of sugar.	Pounds of cotton gathered.
Maine	649,264	117,386	$123,171	$1,496,902	$149,384	–	257,464	
New Hampshire	617,390	121,671	107,092	1,638,543	239,979	–	1,162,368	
Massachusetts	378,226	143,221	178,157	2,373,299	389,177	–	579,227	
Rhode Island	90,146	30,659	61,702	223,229	32,098	–	50	
Connecticut	403,462	131,961	176,629	1,376,534	296,232	–	51,764	
Vermont	1,681,819	203,800	131,578	2,008,737	213,944	–	4,647,934	
New York	5,118,777	1,900,065	1,153,413	10,496,021	1,701,935	–	10,048,109	
New Jersey	219,285	261,443	336,953	1,328,032	464,006	–	56	
Pennsylvania	1,767,620	1,503,964	685,801	3,187,292	618,179	–	2,265,755	
Delaware	39,247	74,228	47,265	113,828	28,211	–	–	334
Maryland	257,922	416,943	218,765	457,466	105,740	–	36,266	5,673
Virginia	1,293,772	1,992,155	754,698	1,480,488	705,765	2,956	1,541,833	3,494,483
North Carolina	538,279	1,649,716	544,125	674,349	386,006	2,820,388	7,163	51,926,190
South Carolina	232,981	878,532	396,364	577,810	52,275	60,590,861	30,000	61,710,274
Georgia	267,107	1,457,755	449,623	605,172	156,122	12,384,732	329,744	163,392,396
Alabama	163,243	1,423,873	404,994	265,200	55,240	149,019	10,143	117,138,823
Mississippi	128,367	1,001,209	369,482	359,585	14,458	777,195	77	193,401,577
Louisiana	98,072	323,220	283,559	153,069	11,769	3,604,534	119,947,720	152,555,368
Tennessee	741,593	2,926,607	606,969	472,141	367,105	7,977	258,073	27,701,277
Kentucky	1,008,240	2,310,533	536,439	931,363	434,935	16,376	1,377,835	691,456
Ohio	2,028,401	2,099,746	551,193	1,848,869	475,271	–	6,363,386	
Indiana	675,982	1,623,608	357,594	742,269	110,055	–	3,727,795	180
Illinois	395,672	1,495,254	309,204	428,175	126,756	460	399,813	200,947
Missouri	348,018	1,271,161	270,647	100,432	90,878	50	274,853	121,122
Arkansas	42,151	393,058	109,468	59,205	10,680	5,454	1,542	6,028,642
Michigan	99,618	295,890	82,730	301,052	16,075	–	1,329,784	
Florida	7,198	92,680	61,007	23,094	1,035	481,420	275,317	12,110,533
Wisconsin	3,462	51,383	16,167	35,667	37	–	135,288	
Iowa	15,354	104,899	16,529	23,609	50	–	41,450	
District of Columbia	706	4,673	3,092	5,566	3,507			
Total	19,311,374	26,301,293	9,344,410	33,787,008	7,256,904	80,841,422	155,100,809	790,479,275

STATEMENT.

[From the speech of the Hon. W. Slade, December 20, 1841.]

Average annual export for 1836, '37, '38, '39, and '40, to *all countries*, of all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacfacture of the United States	$102,588,892
Average annual export of cotton to all countries	64,238,225
Domestic exports, other than cotton	38,350,667
Average annual exports of *all* domestic productions to *Great Britain and her dependancies*	60,200,131
Average export of cotton to the *same* countries	45,560,647
Exports, other than cotton	14,639,484
Average annual exports of *all* domestic productions to *England, Scotland, and Ireland*	53,295,933
Average annual export of cotton to *same* countries	45,515,137
Exports, other than cotton	7,780,796

Average annual exports, for 1836, '37, '38, '39, *and* '40, *of animals, and the products of animals, and vegetable food.*

Articles exported.	To all countries.	To G. Britain and dependancies.	To England, Scotland, and Ireland.
Beef, tallow, hides, and horned cattle	$561,482	$291,608	$68,052
Butter and cheese	139,340	39,616	2,735
Pork, bacon, hams, lard, and live hogs	1,533,522	386,072	355
Horses, mules, and sheep	337,373	288,410	
Wheat	363,413	358,495	139,338
Flour	5,447,378	2,608,385	955,523
Indian corn and meal	868,864	489,885	12,714
Ship bread	306,319	170,064	95
Rye, rye meal, oats, and other small grain, and pulse, potatoes, and apples	339,572	225,544	21,238
Rice	2,196,424	495,739	274,669
	11,766,615	5,353,818	1,474,719

Comparison of the export of cotton with the results of the foregoing table

Average export of cotton, for the five years specified, to *all countries*	$64,238,225
Average exports of all agricultural productions, consisting of animals, and the product of animals, and vegetable food	11,766,615
Excess of cotton export	52,471,610

Average export of cotton to *Great Britain and her dependancies*	$45,560,647
Average exports of the specified agricultural productions to the same countries	5,353,818
Excess of cotton report	40,206,829
Average export of cotton to *England, Scotland, and Ireland*	45,515,137
Average exports of the specified productions to the same countries	1,474,719
Excess of cotton export	44,040,418

Let us now look a moment at these results. They are—

1. That the single article of cotton constituted a little over *sixty-two and a half per cent.* (62.6) of the whole of our domestic exports to all foreign countries—being $25,887,558 more than the exports of all the other products of the fisheries, the forests, the agriculture, and the manufactures of the entire Union.

2. That, of all our domestic exports to *Great Britain and her dependancies*, cotton constituted over *seventy-five and one half per cent.* (75.66)—being $30,921,163 more than the exports to that kingdom of all our other productions.

3. That, of the $45,560,164 of our export of cotton to Great Britain and her dependancies ($45,515,137) went to England, Scotland, and Ireland ($43,475,484 of it to England), as a raw material, to be sent to this and other countries in the form of manufactures, at an advance upon its cost of from 100 to 2 000 per cent., for the benefit of British capital and labor.

4. That that $45,515,137 worth of cotton, exported to England, Scotland, and Ireland, constituted more than *eighty-five per cent.* (85.4) of all our domestic exports to those countries; exceeding all such exports to them, other than cotton, by the sum of $37,734,341.

5. That our exports to *all countries*, of those productions of the agriculture of the United States consisting of animals, the product of animals, and vegetable food, being $11,766,615, constituted but about *eleven and one half per cent.* (11.47) of our whole domestic exports.

6. That the exports to *Great Britain and her dependancies* of all the productions of our agriculture just mentioned, being $5,353,819, constituted but about *nine per cent.* (8.9) of our whole domestic exports to the same countries.

7. That our export of cotton to *all countries* was five and a half times the amount of *all* our exports of the agricultural productions specified in the table just presented.

8. That our exports of cotton to Great Britain and her dependancies ($45,560,647) were eight and one half times the amount of our whole report to that kingdom and its dependancies of all the productions of our agriculture specified in the table, and more than fifteen times the amount of our whole export of *wheat and flour* to that kingdom and its dependancies, including the export of $963,714 worth of those articles through her North American colonies, *for the benefit of her navigation.**

*This $963,714 of wheat and flour was the average of five years. The amount during the first of those years was but $2-2,233, while in the last it was $3,028,589. So the amount of wheat and flour exported direct to England, Scotland, and Ireland, during the first of the aver-

9. That of the $5,353,818 of our agricultural exports to Great Britain and her dependancies, specified in the table, but $1,474,719 was exported directly to England, Scotland, and Ireland, being *three and one fourth per cent. only* of the average amount of *cotton* exported, during the years specified, to those countries; from which, nevertheless, we received, during the same years, merchandise, principally British manufactures, averaging $53,619,434 per annum.

I have spoken in general terms of *foreign legislation* affecting the agricultural staples whose export bears such a small proportion to that of cotton. Let me specify by a reference to the British tariff of duties on the leading articles.

Articles.	Rate of duty.				
Beef, per cwt.	£0	12*s.*	0*d.*	equal	$2 88
Horned cattle, prohibited.					
Butter, per cwt.	1	0	0	"	4 80
Cheese, per cwt.	0	10	6	"	2 52
Pork, salted, per cwt.	0	12	0	"	2 88
Pork, smoked, per cwt.	1	0	8	"	4 96
Bacon and hams, per cwt.	1	8	0	"	6 72
Sausages, per pound	0	0	4	"	8
Swine, prohibited.					
Sheep, do.					
Wheat and flour, Indian corn and meal, Rye, rye meal, and barley, Buckwheat, oats, oat meal, peas, and bean,	Prohibited, except nearly at famine prices.				
Rice, per cwt.	0	15	0	"	3 60
Rice from *British possessions*, per cwt.	0	1	0	"	24
Cotton, per cwt.	0	2	11	"	70
Cotton, the produce of, and imported from *British possessions*, per cwt.	0	0	6	"	12

THE NORTHWEST—By the Memorialist.

Showing the number of square miles of territory in each of the six northwestern States, with the present population to the square mile; and the number of acres of land in the hands of individual owners, and the number to each inhabitant of the lands in private ownership, and of the whole lands.

States.	Square miles.	Inhabitants to a square mile.	Acres in private hands.	Acres sold to each inhabitant.	Whole acres to each inhabitant.
Ohio	38,800	39	23,162,988	15.2	15.7
Indiana	35,100	18	18,174,919	28	37
Illinois	56,000	8.6	17,299,942	35.5	73.9
Michigan	48,622	4.3	10,175,517	48	189
Wisconsin	46,622	.6	1,915,793	62.4	1,540
Iowa	11,067	3.9	1,069,255	24.8	164
	236,211	12.6	72,798,414	24.5	60

aged years, was but $1,134, while in the last it was $4,072,952—showing the fluctuations produced by the operation of the British corn laws.

Wheat is admitted into the North American colonies duty free, to be manufactured and shipped to foreign countries *in British vessels*; and all our productions are admitted into certain free "warehousing ports," of those colonies free of duty, to be re-exported as colonial produce *in British bottoms for the benefit of British navigation.*

THE TRADE THROUGH CANADA.

The following statistics of the northern trade are taken from a speech of the Hon. D. P. Brewster, June, 1842:

Dimensions of the Welland canal (enlarged): Width, seventy-six feet surface, forty feet bottom; depth of water, nine feet; locks, one hundred and twenty feet long, twenty-six feet wide, and eight and a half feet deep, capable of passing vessels of three hundred tons.

St. Lawrence canal: Width, one hundred and thirty-six feet surface, one hundred feet bottom; depth, nine feet; locks, two hundred feet by fifty-five, capable of passing vessels of one thousand tons.

Tolls received on the Welland canal in 1841, £20,210 19*s.* 9*d.* currency.

Trade on the Welland canal.

Years.	Wheat.	Flour.	Beef and Pork.
	Bushels.	*Barrels.*	*Barrels.*
1837	208,242	6,869	–
1838	414,919	49,082	–
1839	864,896	66,875	–
1840	1,833,765	209,016	15,624
1841	1,579,966	213,483	30,416

In 1842, there was shipped upward, through this canal, 156,138 barrels of salt, the production of the Onondaga salines.

Of the wheat passed this canal, 756,887 bushels were received at Oswego in 1841.

The extent and increase of this trade will be seen in the quantities of wheat and flour that passed down the St. Lawrence river by the Lachine canal:

Years.	Flour.	Wheat.
	Barrels.	*Bushels.*
1839	192,555	79,919
1840	461,445	633,732
1841	550,613	682,626

EXPORTS OF WHEAT AND FLOUR FROM QUEBEC.

In 1836, 18,125 barrels of flour, and 9,716 bushels of wheat. In 1841, 354,101 barrels of flour, and 562,862 bushels of wheat.

This was exported to the following places:

To Great Britain, 338,278 barrels, and 318 half barrels, of flour, and 450,594 bushels of wheat.

To Ireland, 111,203 bushels of wheat.

To British North American Colonies, 11,389 barrels of flour, and 1,065 bushels of wheat.

To British West India Colonies, 3,879 barrels of flour.

To New South Wales, 395 barrels of flour.

TRADE OF THE OHIO CANAL.

As a strong illustration of the position that the northern route is the proper outlet for the greater part of the bread-stuffs and provisions grown north of the Ohio river, the following table of the business on the Ohio canal in the year 1838 may be adduced, Cleveland being the northern, and Portsmouth the southern, termination of that canal:

Received.		At Portsmouth.	At Cleveland.	Cleared from Portsmouth.	Cleared from Cleveland.
Wheat, bushels,	1836	1,154	464,756		
	1837	735	578,697		
	1838	2,368	1,229,002	589	
Flour, barrels,	1836	–	167,539		
	1837	13,546	207,593	1,559	
	1838	13,898	287,465	1,186	
Corn, bushels,	1836	–	392,281		
	1837	3,199	280,374	6,703	
	1838	8,768	107,514	2,981	
Pork, pounds,	1836	–	3,374,000		
	1837	3,651,740	13,787,036	982,482	
	1838	3,392,593	11,306,282	402,000	
Butter and lard, lbs.,	1837	227,400	2,329,178	16,500	
	1838	988,811	1,763,953	1,763	
Salt, barrels,	1837	154	–	6,457	62,977
	1838	898	–	3,236	63,465

TRADE OF CLEVELAND.

Table of articles received at Cleveland, via the Ohio canal, in the years 1835 *to* 1840, *with the tonnage owned in the port, the arrivals, and the value of property entered and cleared at the port.*

Articles.	1835.	1836.	1837.	1838.	1839.	1840.
Bushels of wheat -	387,232	464,756	548,697	1,229,002	1,515,820	2,155,407
" corn -	532,373	393,281	280,374	107,514	65,272	72,569
Barrels of flour -	–	167,939	207,592	287,465	264,887	505,460
" pork -	–	13,496	–	39,055	30,717	23,017
Pounds of lard -	522,498	636,409	1,555,536	1,157,109	857,455	525,802
" butter -	490,989	900,419	773,642	606,844	116,096	788,945
" cheese -	–	74,880	35,500	12,638	200	22,890
" pig iron -	–	1,031,568	1,017,847	1,000,784	738,300	1,184,641
Tonnage owned -	–	–	–	–	11,459	
Arrivals, sail -	–	–	–	1,095		
" steam -	–	–	–	705		
Value of property entered and cleared -	–	–	13,090,000	20,000,000		

Note.—In 1825, the tonnage owned was 806; the arrivals were 54 sail, and 21 steam vessels; the value of property entered and cleared, $182,871. In 1830, tonnage, 1,330; arrivals, 775; value of property, $1,314,542. In 1833, tonnage, 2,800; arrivals, 1,505; property, $6,644,000.

TRADE OF BUFFALO.

Staple articles arriving at Buffalo, and passing east, by the Erie canal, in the years named.

Years.	Flour and wheat.	Pork and beef.	Tobacco.	Butter and lard.	Ashes.	Cheese.	Tolls.
	Tons.	*Barrels.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	
1829 - -	577	4,754	32	70	1,705		
1830 - -	12,384	6,675	62	174	2,713		
1831 - -	3,425	5,668	222	205	2,502		
1832 - -	5,391	5,159	386	394	2,110		
1833 - -	11,926	4,273	532	449	2,118		
1834 - -	12,421	14,590	1,009	119	1,655		
1835 - -	15,935	8,160	1,765	503	1,694		
1836 - -	27,159	7,385	1,877	626	1,752		
1837 - -	27,205	24,414	608	550	2,080	39	$128,581
1838 - -	57,979	16,121	–	741	2,224	51	202,899
1839 - -	57,766	24,633	–	538	2 992	93	214,183
1840 - -	90,456	25,462	–	1,415	2,432	481	321,417

WELLAND CANAL, 1842.

Comparison of the commodities passing through the canal in the years 1841 *and* 1842, *to the* 31*st of May in each year.*

Articles.	1841.	1842.	Increase.
Flour, barrels - - - - - -	53,761	72,647	8,886
Beef and pork, " - - - - -	10,102	64,626	54,524
Salt, " - - - - -	11,840	19,966	5,126
Wheat, bushels - - - - -	322,888	392,701	69,813
Corn, " - - - - -	113	32,126	32,013
Oats, " - - - - -	431	8,193	7,762
Lard, kegs - - - - -	158	1,248	1,090
Tonnage - - - - - - -	46,838	81,792	34,954
Toll - - - - - - -	£3,989	£6,710	£2,721

Miscellaneous items, illustrating the increase of trade in the northwest, in the years 1836 to 1840.

	1836.	1837.	1838.	1839.	1840.
Lake Erie—					
Steamboats on, No.	45	50	52	61	
do tons,	9,017	10,509	17,429	17,324	
Sailing vessels, No.	211	230	234	225	300
do tons,	15,030	16,934	16,840	17,799	30,000
Total tonnage	24,047	27,443	34,277	35,123	
Welland Canal—					
Wheat passing on, bushels	–	208,242	414,919	864,846	
Flour passing on, barrels	–	6,869	49,082	66,875	
Income, pounds	–	6,461	3,123	5,706	20,341
Erie Canal—					
Wheat and flour forwarded at Buffalo, tons	24,154	27,206	57,947	60,082	107,557
Wheat and flour arrived at Hudson river, tons	124,982	116,491	133 080	124,883	218,759
Tolls on wheat and flour, dollars	–	301,739	380,161	404,525	363,180
Per cent. of whole tolls	–	27	27	27	26
Wheat forwarded at Buffalo, bushels	304,990	450,350	299,830	311,320	1,467,904
Flour forwarded at Buffalo, barrels	139,178	126,808	933,166	965,000	647,970
Wheat arrived at Hudson river, bushels	824,855	592,037	551,589	582,752	1,395,195
Flour arrived at Hudson river, barrels	928,116	914,171	1,079,001	992,603	1,805,135
Michigan—					
Flour shipped from Detroit, barrels	–	–	–	–	76,896
Flour shipped from Toledo, barrels	–	–	–	–	67,000
Flour shipped from ports on Lake Michigan, barrels	–	–	–	–	53,000
Flour on hand for spring shipments, barrels	–	–	–	–	200,000

The average price in New York of fine Genesee flour in each month for the last seven years; also the average price for each year.

	1834.	1335.	1836.	1837.	1838.	1839.	1840.
January, - -	$5 06¼	$5 43¾	$7 43¾	11 68¾	$8 32	$8 87½	$6 37½
February, - -	5 35½	5 56¼	7 69	11 81¼	8 00	8 80	6 25
March, - -	4 81¼	5 75	7 97	12 00	8 00	8 47	6 68¾
April, - - -	5 18¾	5 81¼	7 69	9 87½	7 75	8 25	5 59
May, - - -	5 00	6 59	6 75	8 81¼	7 85	7 31¼	4 91¼
June, - - -	4 37½	6 52	6 81¼	10 00	7 81¼	6 45	4 62½
July, - - -	4 90	7 03	7 12½	10 62½	7 00	6 06¼	4 81½
August, - -	5 25	6 19	7 68¾	9 00	7 06¼	6 43¾	5 12½
September, - -	5 37½	6 00	8 04¼	9 47	8 37½	6 50	4 97½
October, - -	5 37½	6 12½	9 41	8 18¾	8 62½	5 87½	4 87½
November, - -	5 12½	6 69	10 00	9 25	8 50	6 06¼	4 93¾
December, - -	5 12½	7 75	10 00	8 93¼	8 75	6 06¼	4 91
Average each year,	$5 24¾	$6 29	$8 25	$9 80¼	$7 83½	$7 09½	$5 25½

The following *estimate* of the crop of wheat in the United States at each period of ten years, with the proportion exported, is given in a speech of the Hon. Mr. Randolph, of New Jersey, June, 1842. I have added a column showing the quantity to each inhabitant. The crop is doubtless under estimated.

Estimate.

Year.	Crop. *bushels.*	Per cent. exported.	Population.	Proportion to each inhabitant.
1790 - -	17,000,000	28	3,929,328	4.36
1800 - -	22,000,000	15	5,309,758	4.15
1810 - -	30,000,000	14⅓	7,239,903	4.16
1820 - -	38,000,000	15½	9,638,166	3.95
1830 - -	50,000,000	12⅜	12,866,020	3.9
1840 - -	80,000,000	14	17,068,666	4.7

BRITISH TABLES.

[From the Parliamentary papers, February, 1842.]

Annual average price, per quarter, of each kind of grain in England, from 1796 *to* 1841.

AVERAGE ANNUAL PRICE.

Years.	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
1796	78	7	35	4	21	10
1797	53	9	27	2	16	3
1798	51	10	29	0	19	5
1799	69	0	36	2	27	6
1800	113	10	59	10	39	4
1801	119	6	68	6	37	0
1802	69	10	33	4	20	4
1803	58	10	25	4	21	6
1804	62	3	31	0	24	3
1805	89	9	44	6	28	4
1806	79	1	38	8	27	7
1807	75	4	39	4	28	4
1808	81	4	–		33	4
1809	97	4	47	0	31	5
1810	106	5	48	1	28	7
1811	95	3	42	3	27	7
1812	126	6	66	9	44	6
1813	109	9	58	6	38	6
1814	74	4	37	4	25	8
1815	65	7	30	3	23	7
1816	78	6	33	11	27	2
1817	96	11	49	4	32	5
1818	86	3	53	10	32	5
1819	74	6	45	9	28	2
1820	67	10	33	10	24	2
1821	56	1	26	0	19	6
1822	44	7	21	10	18	1
1823	53	4	31	6	22	11
1824	63	11	36	4	24	10
1825	68	6	40	0	25	8
1826	58	8	34	4	26	8
1827	58	6	37	7	28	2
1828	60	5	32	10	22	6
1829	66	3	32	6	22	9
1830	64	3	32	7	24	5
1831	66	4	38	0	25	4
1832	58	8	33	1	20	5
1833	52	11	27	6	18	5
1834	46	2	29	0	20	11
1835	39	4	29	11	22	0

ANNUAL AVERAGE PRICE—Continued.

Years.	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.
	s. *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*
1836 - - -	48 6	32 10	23 1
1837 - - -	55 10	30 4	23 1
1838 - - -	64 7	31 5	22 5
1839 - - -	70 8	39 6	25 11
1840 - - -	66 4	36 5	25 8
1841 - - -	64 4	32 10	22 5

Decennial fluctuations in the price of wheat from 1646 *to* 1815; *from* 1816 *to* 1828; *and from* 1829 *to* 1841; *exhibiting the highest and lowest annual average in each decennial period, and the per centage amount of difference.*

Periods.	Annual average price.		
	Highest.	Lowest.	Difference.
	s. *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*Per cent.*
First period—			
From 1646 to 1655 -	77 10	23 9	227
From 1656 to 1665 -	67 9	37 1	82
From 1666 to 1675 -	62 10	33 0	90
From 1676 to 1685 -	55 0	34 9	58
From 1686 to 1695 -	61 11	23 0	169
From 1696 to 1705 -	65 0	26 11	141
From 1706 to 1715 -	71 11	23 9	202
From 1716 to 1725 -	44 5	31 9	40
From 1726 to 1735 -	49 11	24 4	105
From 1736 to 1745 -	46 5	22 9	104
From 1746 to 1755 -	40 10	29 8	37
From 1756 to 1765 -	55 0	27 7	99
From 1766 to 1775 -	59 1	41 10	41
From 1776 to 1785 -	54 3	34 8	56
From 1786 to 1795 -	75 2	40 0	87
From 1796 to 1805 -	119 6	51 10	130
From 1806 to 1815 -	126 6	65 7	92
Second period—			
From 1816 to 1828 -	96 11	44 7	117
Third period—			
From 1829 to 1841 -	70 8	39 4	79

Statement of weekly average price of wheat, duty average, rates of duty, and amount of duty, for each week in the year 1840, distinguishing colonial and foreign.

Weeks ended	Date of duties coming into operation.	Weekly average price per quarter.	Duty average (aggregate average regulating the duty).	Rate of duty per qr.		Quantities on which duty was paid for home consumption.			Amount of duty received.		
				Foreign.	Colonial.	Foreign.	Colonial.	Total.	Foreign.	Colonial.	Total.
1839.	1840.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	Qrs. bus.	Qrs. bus.	Qrs. bus.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Dec. 27	Jan. 2	66 5	66 10	20 8	5 0	176 7	–	176 7	156 1 3	–	156 1 3
1840.											
Jan. 3	" 9	66 1	66 4	20 8	5 0	1,776 4	–	1,776 4	1,785 15 5	–	1,785 15 5
" 10	" 16	65 10	66 2	20 8	5 0	1,577 0	–	1,577 0	1,610 19 6	–	1,610 19 6
" 17	" 23	66 0	66 1	20 8	5 0	601 5	–	601 5	609 1 9	–	609 1 9
" 24	" 30	65 4	66 1	20 8	5 0	7,095 6	–	7,095 6	7,163 5 6	–	7,163 5 6
" 31	Feb. 6	65 2	65 10	21 8	5 0	175 2	–	175 2	189 1 10	–	189 1 10
Feb. 7	" 13	64 11	65 7	21 8	5 0	931 4	–	931 4	970 13 8	–	970 13 8
" 14	" 20	65 3	65 5	21 8	5 0	1,003 7	–	1,003 7	1,074 15 10	–	1,074 15 10
" 21	" 27	65 11	65 5	21 8	5 0	640 7	–	640 7	426 11 4	–	426 11 4
" 28	Mar. 5	66 4	65 6	21 8	5 0	253 1	–	253 1	273 9 8	–	273 9 8
March 6	" 12	66 11	65 9	21 8	5 0	377 7	–	377 7	368 3 8	–	368 3 8
" 13	" 19	68 2	66 3	20 8	5 0	975 4	–	975 4	981 12 2	–	981 12 2
" 20	" 26	69 3	67 0	18 8	6	2,975 6	–	2,975 6	2,638 14 2	–	2,638 14 2
" 27	April 2	69 1	67 7	18 8	6	1,173 7	–	1,173 7	1,088 14 5	–	1,088 14 5
April 3	" 9	68 7	68 1	16 8	6	31,194 5	–	31,194 5	25,780 5 4	–	25,780 5 4
" 10	" 16	68 11	68 6	16 8	6	19,308 3	3	19,308 6	16,047 12 8	2	16,047 12 10
" 17	" 23	69 6	68 11	16 8	6	3,152 6	3	3,153 1	2,624 15 5	2	2,624 15 7
" 24	" 30	68 7	69 0	13 8	6	341,925 2	–	341,925 2	232,941 2 7	–	232,941 2 7
May 1	May 7	68 5	68 10	16 8	6	4,645 1	32 0	4,677 1	3,397 11 2	16 0	3,398 7 2
" 8	" 14	68 1	68 8	16 8	6	9,735 4	–	9,735 4	7,601 9 5	–	7,601 9 5
" 15	" 21	68 7	68 8	16 8	6	10,258 4	–	10,258 4	8,307 10 1	–	8,307 10 1
" 22	" 28	68 0	68 6	16 8	6	13,500 5	2 0	13,500 7	11,155 5 0	2	11,155 5 2
" 29	June 4	67 10	68 3	16 8	6	49,855 4	–	49,855 4	41,071 11 8	–	41,071 11 8
June 5	" 11	67 1	68 0	16 8	6	93,481 5	11 4	93,493 1	77,746 9 5	2 17 6	77,749 6 11
" 12	" 18	67 7	67 10	18 8	6	3,084 6	–	3,084 6	2,603 8 10	–	2,603 8 10
" 19	" 25	67 4	67 9	18 8	6	3,599 2	–	3,599 2	3,120 14 6	–	3,120 14 6

STATEMENT—Continued.

Weeks ended.	Date of duties coming into operation.	Weekly average price per quarter.	Duty average (ag'gate average regulat'g the duty.)	Rate of duty per qr.		Quantities on which duty was paid for home consumption.			Amount of duty received.		
				Foreign	Colonial.	Foreign.	Colonial.	Total.	Foreign.	Colonial.	Total.
1840.	1840.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	Qrs. bus.	Qrs. bus.	Qrs. bus.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
June 26	July 2	67 8	67 7	18 8	6	1,563 0	-	1,563 0	1,429 10 8	-	1,429 10 8
July 3	" 9	67 8	67 7	18 8	6	546 7	2 0	548 7	419 17 10	1 0	419 18 10
" 10	" 16	68 6	67 8	18 8	6	365 6	-	365 6	314 8 5	-	314 8 5
" 17	" 23	69 6	68 1	16 8	6	801 1	-	801 1	645 2 6	-	645 2 6
" 24	" 30	71 4	68 8	16 8	6	479 2	-	479 2	397 17 6	-	397 17 6
" 31	Aug. 6	71 11	69 5	13 8	6	1,379 2	-	1,373 2	943 3 0	-	943 3 0
August 7	" 13	72 10	70 4	10 8	6	1,418 7	892 0	2,310 7	752 7 1	22 6 0	774 13 1
" 14	" 20	72 4	71 1	6 8	6	11,230 2	76 3	11,306 5	3,734 3 3	1 18 2	3,736 1 5
" 21	" 27	72 7	71 9	6 8	6	2,468 0	6 6	2,474 6	846 13 4	3 5	846 16 9
" 28	Sept. 3	72 4	72 3	2 8	6	1,217,860 3	-	1,217,860 3	162,271 6 0	-	162,271 6 0
Sept. 4	" 10	63 11	71 10	6 8	6	50,154 2	-	50,154 2	16,111 16 2	-	16,111 16 2
" 11	" 17	65 4	70 8	10 8	6	61,640 5	12 6	61,653 4	32,097 3 1	6 5	32,097 9 6
" 18	" 24	64 2	69 3	13 8	6	32,783 3	-	32,783 3	21,801 1 9	-	21,801 1 9
" 25	Oct. 1	64 1	67 11	18 8	6	14,742 4	-	14,742 4	12,227 19 7	-	12,227 19 7
Oct. 2	" 8	64 7	66 7	20 8	5 0	7,269 0	-	7,269 0	6,841 3 3	-	6,841 3 3
" 9	" 15	64 0	65 2	21 8	5 0	4,725 4	-	4,725 4	4,065 5 9	-	4,065 5 9
" 16	" 22	63 3	64 3	22 8	5 0	1,054 5	-	1,054 5	1,115 18 1	-	1,115 18 1
" 23	" 29	62 5	63 9	23 8	5 0	207 2	-	207 2	221 12 1	-	221 12 1
" 30	Nov. 5	61 7	63 4	23 8	5 0	1,424 4	1,200 0	2,624 4	1,440 3 5	300 0 0	1,740 3 5
Nov. 6	" 12	62 1	63 0	23 8	5 0	1,270 3	90 0	1,360 3	1,411 12 11	22 10 0	1,434 2 11
" 13	" 19	62 2	62 7	24 8	5 0	97 5	17 2	114 7	56 18 1	4 6 3	61 4 4
" 20	" 26	61 8	62 2	24 8	5 0	94 7	549 0	643 7	12 19 9	137 5 0	150 4 9
" 27	Dec. 3	60 0	61 8	25 8	5 0	23 0	-	23 0	29 10 9	-	29 10 9
Dec. 4	" 10	59 7	61 2	25 8	5 0	3,100 1	1,158 0	4,258 1	3,162 18 2	289 10 0	3,452 8 2
" 11	" 17	53 10	60 9	26 8	5 0	31 3	-	31 3	20 6 8	-	20 6 8
" 18	" 24	59 1	60 3	26 8	5 0	5 5	-	5 5	13 0	-	15 0
" 25	" 31	60 1	59 10	27 8	5 0	- -	655 0	655 0	- -	163 15 0	163 15 0
Total in the year ending Jauaary 5, 1841				-		2,020,214 6	4,703 5	2,024,918 3	724,106 8 4	945 15 3	725,052 3 7

Statement of the quantities of wheat and wheat flour, distinguishing foreign from colonial, imported, paid duty, and remaining in warehouse in each year, from July, 1828, to December, 1841.

Years.	Quantities imported.			Quantities entered for home consumption.			Quantities remaining in warehouse at the end of each year.		
	Foreign.	Colonial.	Total.	Foreign.	Colonial.	Total.	Foreign.	Colonial.	Total.
	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.
1828, from July 15 - -	570,799	20,130	590,929	740,458	20,021	760,479	32,005	212	32,217
1829 - - -	1,715,442	10,339	1,725,781	1,434,096	8,605	1,442,701	246,092	1,660	247,752
1830 - - -	1,592,768	70,515	1,663,283	1,667,288	60,559	1,727,847	143,131	11,236	154,367
1831 - - -	2,083,812	226,158	2,309,970	1,369,044	137,696	1,506,740	801,520	99,925	901,445
1832 - - -	345,386	124,516	469,902	182,770	193,985	376,755	673,673	28,620	702,293
1833 - - -	183,229	114,336	297,565	1,330	82,706	84,036	764,984	57,868	822,852
1834 - - -	109,734	66,587	176,321	290	64,684	64,974	715,132	59,053	774,185
1835 - - -	43,801	23,104	66,905	124	28,430	28,554	627,180	53,978	681,158
1836 - - -	234,503	7,240	241,743	1,045	29,062	30,107	599,463	31,980	631,443
1837 - - -	544,150	15,792	559,942	210,897	33,375	244,272	630,310	14,361	644,671
1838 - - -	1,355,314	16,643	1,371,957	1,818,828	29,647	1,848,475	24,229	1,500	25,729
1839 - - -	2,862,833	12,772	2,875,605	2,698,981	12,742	2,711,723	174,188	1,494	175,682
1840 - - -	2,284,289	148,476	2,432,765	2,287,637	113,799	2,401,436	102,845	36,563	139,408
1841 - - -	2,524,443	259,159	2,783,602	2,388,072	259,736	2,647,808			
Total	16,450,503	1,115,767	17,566,270	14,800,860	1,075,047	15,875,907	5,534,772	398,450	5,983,382

Statement of the quantities of each kind of grain and of malt imported into Great Britain from Ireland in each year, from 1800 *to* 1841.

Years.	Wheat and wheat flour.	Barley, including beer or big.	Oats and oat meal.	Rye.	Peas.	Beans.	Malt.	Total.
	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.
1800	749	78	2,411	–	–	–	–	3,238
1801	150	–	375	–	–	–	–	525
1802	108,751	7,116	341,151	282	113	1,655	2,303	461,371
1803	61,267	12,879	266,359	753	611	1,653	25	343,547
1804	70,071	2,521	240,022	206	1,078	3,069	–	316,958
1805	84,087	15,656	203,302	235	1,634	2,010	–	306,924
1806	102,276	3,237	357,077	330	1,389	2,361	–	466,760
1807	44,900	23,048	389,649	431	1,390	3,777	–	463,195
1808	43,497	30,586	579,974	573	75	2,065	–	656,770
1809	66,944	16,619	845,783	425	38	2,669	–	932,478
1810	126,388	8,321	492,741	20	216	3,541	–	631,227
1811	147,245	2,713	275,757	21	50	4,081	–	429,867
1812	158,352	43,138	390,629	178	51	5,008	–	597,356
1813	217,154	63,560	691,498	420	77	4,455	–	977,164
1814	225,478	16,779	561,010	4	460	5,731	–	812,462
1815	189,544	27,108	597,537	207	425	6,371	–	821,192
1816	121,631	62,254	683,714	43	239	5,984	–	873,865
1817	55,481	26,766	611,117	–	12	2,275	–	695,651
1818	105,179	25,387	1,069,385	4	10	4,768	–	1,204,733
1819	153,850	20,311	789,613	2	–	3,904	–	967,680
1820	403,407	87,095	916,251	134	439	8,396	–	1,415,722
1821	569,700	82,884	1,162,249	550	2,474	4,959	–	1,822,816
1822	463,004	22,532	569,237	353	728	7,235	–	1,063,089
1823	400,068	19,274	1,102,487	198	586	5,540	–	1,528,153
1824	356,384	44,699	1,225,085	112	756	5,791	1,173	1,634,000
1825	396,018	154,256	1,629,856	220	1,431	11,355	10,826	2,203,963
1826	314,851	64,885	1,303,734	77	1,452	7,190	1,203	1,693,392
1827	405,255	67,791	1,343,267	256	1,282	10,037	572	1,828,460
1828	652,584	84,204	2,075,631	1,424	4,826	7,068	853	2,826,590
1829	519,017	97,140	1,673,628	568	4,435	10,445	2,011	2,307,244
1830	529,717	189,745	1,471,252	414	2,520	19,053	2,820	2,215,521
1831	557,498	185,409	1,655,701	515	4,142	15,029	10,888	2,429,182
1832	790,293	123,639	2,051,867	294	1,915	14,530	8,229	2,990,767
1833	844,211	101,767	1,762,520	166	2,646	19,114	7,017	2,737,441
1834	779,505	217,855	1,769,503	983	2,176	18,771	3,865	2,792,658
1835	661,776	156,242	1,822,767	614	3,447	24,235	10,357	2,679,438
1836	598,757	184,156	2,132,138	483	2,920	17,604	22,214	2,958,272
1837	534,465	187,473	2,274,675	1,016	60	25,630	4,174	3,030,293
1838	542,583	156,467	2,742,807	628	5,232	21,584	5,001	3,474,302
1839	258.331	61,676	1,944,943	2,331	1,484	11,535	2,861	2,243,151
1840	174,439	95,954	2,037,835	122	1,403	14,573	3,456	2,327,782
1841	218,708	75,568	2,539,380	172	855	15,907	4,935	2,855,525

Statement of quantities of wheat meal imported in each year, from 1828 *to* 1840.

COUNTRIES.	QUANTITIES IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM.												
	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.	1834.	1835.	1836.	1837.	1838.	1839.	1840.
	Cwt.	*Cwt.*	*Cwt.*	*Cwt.*	*Cwt.*	*Cwt.*	*Cwt.*	*Cwt.*	*Cwt.*	*Cwt.*	*Cwt.*	*Cwt.*	*Cwt.*
Russia	226	18,128	1,740	1,598	51	183	1	–	2	1	241	3,946	63
Sweden	2	164	79	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	23
Denmark	2,417	1,323	246	25	–	3,111	7,895	8,577	32,560	41,370	77,233	39,395	10,951
Prussia	6,426	184	7,936	18	10	18,264	41,749	37,292	79,790	122,959	123,119	96,360	23,433
Germany	6,846	960	3,570	971	534	3,778	3,541	5,196	97,649	120,133	131,936	66,528	21,795
Holland	60	–	–	–	247	181	–	–	179	919	–	1,474	175
Belgium						342	–	–	709	956	3,639	6,061	
France	1,534	10,607	8	9,186	–	–	–	32	14	883	26,740	115,502	1,070
Portugal, proper	4,485	20,122	5,112	–	–	392	–	–	–	42			
Spain and the Balearic isl'ds	–	–	–	29,529	89	–	–	–	–	–	–	185	2
Gibraltar	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	199	422	
Italy and the Italian islands	–	–	–	17	–	–	–	–	35	1,677	2,596	19,488	73
Malta	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	1		
Turkey	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	60	
Egypt	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	40		
Western coast of Africa	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5		
Cape of Good Hope	–	–	9	17	–	–	–	36	12	–	–	88	
Mauritius	–	–	–	3									
East India Company's territories and Ceylon	–	72	53	14,427	30,219	36,277	21,898	15,897	7,172	44,667	18,911	17,532	13,026
China	–	–	–	–	–	–	137	–	–	–	–	–	10
British settlements in Australia	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	1	14	–	24
British N. American colonies	16,575	5,579	61,916	96,361	48,831	74,017	40,386	9,735	18,025	9,527	39,745	27,094	478,969
British West Indies	1	–	3	12	3	11	8	6	125	–	5	1	3
United States of America	47,470	396,351	623,745	1,477,196	114,909	35,659	34,974	6,809	1,183	130	19,550	432,742	984,467
Brazil	–	5	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	3,251	1
Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Man (foreign goods)	64,992	8,391	2,660	6,696	1	661	712	1,389	18,374	20,974	12,756	12,917	3,753
Total	151,038	461,895	707,082	1,636,059	194,896	172,877	151,306	84,969	255,831	364,248	456,739	843,046	1,537,838

An account of the total amount and average rate of duty received on each kind of grain, distinguishing foreign and colonial, in each year, from July, 1828, to January 5, 1842.

Years.	WHEAT, FOREIGN.			WHEAT FLOUR, FOREIGN.			WHEAT, BRITISH COLONIAL.			WHEAT FLOUR, BRITISH COLONIAL.		
	Quantities retained for home consumption.	Net produce of duty.	Average rate of duty paid.	Quantities retained for home consumption.	Net produce of duty.	Average rate of duty paid.	Quantities retained for home consumption.	Net produce of duty.	Average rate of duty paid.	Quantities retained for home consumption.	Net produce of duty.	Average rate of duty paid.
	Qrs.		*Per qr.* s. d.	*Cwt.*		*Per cwt.* s. d.	*Qrs.*		*Per qr.* s. d.	*Cwt.*		*Per cwt.* s. d.
1828, from July 15	789,252	£67,688	1 9	51,720	£1,137	0 5	14,908	£3,395	4 7	14,214	£1,177	1 8
1829	1,260,803	583,019	9 3	332,101	41,239	2 6	7,232	543	1 6	4,965	423	1 8
1830	1,494,898	489,246	6 7	515,788	45,831	1 9	46,419	1,979	0 10	48,132	606	0 3
1831	1,090,379	254,911	4 8	926,896	70,202	1 6	112,699	11,279	2 0	88,725	5,828	1 4
1832	165,545	192,193	23 3	56,833	22,847	8 0	163,964	39,472	4 10	105,147	9,049	1 9
1833	1,144	632	11 1	651	331	10 2	61,215	14,702	4 10	74,093	6,292	1 8
1834	263	261	19 10	91	61	13 4	45,631	11,237	4 11	65,212	5,529	1 8
1835	48	50	20 10	270	120	8 10	15,302	3,940	5 2	42,349	3,606	1 8
1836	972	703	14 6	239	149	12 6	18,583	4,618	5 0	36,656	3,122	1 8
1837	210,083	295,393	28 1	2,257	496	4 5	22,538	5,635	5 0	37,873	3,114	1 8
1838	1,715,771	133,976	1 7	311,914	7,919	0 6	7,740	757	1 11	76,381	2,594	0 8
1839	2,500,045	618,269	4 11	590,117	51,785	1 9	32	1	0 6	44,478	392	0 2
1840	2,011,774	719,059	7 2	925,722	164,287	3 7	4,704	946	4 0	380,668	12,705	0 8
1841	2,236,143	384,499	3 5	531,752	19,305	0 9	64,745	5,571	1 9	682,468	26,651	0 9
Total from July 15, 1828, to Jan. 5, 1842	13,477,120	3,739,899	5 7	4,246,351	425,709	2 1	585,712	104,075	3 7	1,701,361	81,088	0 11

An account of the quantity of wheat at each rate of duty, entered for home consumption in the United Kingdom from the passing of the Act 9 Geo. 4, c. 60 (15 July, 1828), to the 5th Jan., 1842.

Duty.			Foreign.	
			Wheat.	Wheat flour.
When the rate of duty on wheat	£.	s. d.	Quarters.	Cwt.
per quarter was— - -	0	1 0	5,788,023	1,757,775
" " -	0	2 8	2,880,613	862,262
" " -	0	6 8	1,997,226	519,097
" " -	0	10 8	820,342	243,120
" " -	0	13 8	549,717	466,521
" " -	0	16 8	302,636	213,803
" " -	0	18 8	77,140	44,807
" " -	1	0 8	379,073	97,025
" " -	1	1 8	110,324	6,618
" " -	1	2 8	79,562	18,746
" " -	1	3 8	275,840	63,754
" " -	1	4 8	46,347	3,823
" " -	1	5 8	27,607	1,668
" " -	1	6 8	4,828	661
" " -	1	7 8	1,882	707
" " -	1	8 8	134,275	1,377
" " -	1	9 8	61,649	101
" " -	1	10 8	13,955	756
" " -	1	11 8	1,496	87
" " -	1	12 8	432	63
" " -	1	13 8	908	511
" " -	1	14 8	385	164
" " -	1	15 8	154	24
" " -	1	16 8	326	42
" " -	1	17 8	314	24
" " -	1	18 8	154	72
" " -	1	19 8	151	51
" " -	2	0 8	3	-
" " -	2	2 8	7	3
" " -	2	3 8	4	7
" " -	2	4 8	16	13
" " -	2	5 8	62	33
" " -	2	6 8	10	155
" " -	2	7 8	7	17
" " -	2	8 8	3	2
" " -	2	9 8	2	36
" " -	2	10 8	8	56
Admitted at an ad val. duty, being damaged			2,629	-
" duty-free - ditto		-	-	350
" duty-free, for seed		-	71	-
Total		-	13,558,181	4,304,331

AN ACCOUNT—Continued.

Duty.	British Colonial.	
	Wheat.	Wheat flour.
When the rate of duty on wheat £. s. d.	Quarters.	Cwt.
per quarter was— - - 0 0 6	176,761	833,221
" " - 0 5 0	412,251	871,101
Total - -	589,012	1,704,322

BRITISH EXPORTS.

Statement of the declared value of exports of British and Irish produce and manufactures in 1840, *with the countries to which they were exported, in the order of the relative amounts.*

Countries.	Declared value.
East India company's territories and Ceylon - - -	£6,023,192
Germany - - - - - - -	5,408,499
United States - - - - - -	5,283,020
British West Indies - - - - - -	3,574,970
Holland - - - - - - -	3,416,190
British North American colonies - - - -	2,847,913
Italy and islands - - - - - -	2,660,338
Brazil - - - - - - -	2,625,853
France - - - - - - -	2,378,149
Australia - - - - - - -	2,004,385
Russia - - - - - - -	1,602,742
Chili - - - - - - -	1,324,873
Portugal and islands - - - - - -	1,198,144
Turkey - - - - - - -	1,138,559
Belgium - - - - - - -	880,286
Foreign West Indies - - - - - -	863,520
Peru - - - - - - -	799,991
Rio de la Plata - - - - - -	614,047
Western Africa - - - - - -	492,128
Spain and islands - - - - - -	450,124
Cape of Good Hope - - - - - -	417,091
All others - - - - - - -	5,391,436
Total - - - -	51,406,430

An account of the total quantities of each kind of grain, foreign and colonial, with the total amount of duty paid upon each kind, and the average rate thereof, during the whole period, from July, 1828, to December, 1841.

ARTICLES.	Foreign corn, meal, and flour.			Corn, meal, and flour, the produce of, and imported from, British possessions out of Europe.		
	Quantities charged with duty for home consumption, under act 9, Geo. 4, c. 60, from the passing of the act (15th July, 1828), to the 5th January, 1842.	Amount of duty received thereon.	Rates of duty taken on the average of the whole period.	Quantities charged with duty for home consumption, under act 9, Geo. 4, c. 60, from the passing of the act (15th July, 1828), to the 5th January, 1842.	Amount of duty received thereon.	Rates of duty taken on the average of the whole period.
			Per qr.			Per qr.
	Qrs.	£.	s. d.	Qrs.	£.	s. d.
Wheat	13,555,471	3,779,417	5 7	589,012	104,639	3 7
Barley	2,826,397	659,559	4 8	839	89	2 1
Oats	3,534,627	1,137,940	6 5	9,060	303	8
Rye	319,842	49,195	3 1			
Peas	919,227	266,374	5 10	25,872	1,786	1 5
Beans	1,071,369	371,698	6 11	57	1	6
Indian corn	140,164	26,940	3 10	8,365	456	1 1
Buckwheat	40,024	12,357	6 2			
			Per cwt.			Per cwt.
	Cwt.		s. d.	Cwt.		s. d.
Wheat meal and flour	4,303,981	428,083	2 0	1,704,528	81,479	11
Oatmeal	1,422	253	3 7	18,877	932	1 0

The foregoing return will be liable to alteration (although not to any considerable extent) when the accounts of the year 1841 shall have been finally adjusted.

WILLIAM IRVING,
Inspector General of Imports and Exports.

INSPECTOR GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Custom-house, London, February 7, 1842.

[C.]

THE METHOD OF THE CORN TRADE.

To show the extreme accuracy of calculation to which the food of a great empire is subjected under the corn laws, the memorialist has deemed it more than a mere gratification of curiosity, to understand the method in which the corn-dealers of England prepare to anticipate and take advantage of the coming harvest, by their intimate knowledge of the extent and prospect of the crop. The process is explained in the following extracts from the testimony given in 1833 and 1837, before select committees of the British Parliament, by David Hodgson, Esq., of the house of Cropper, Benson, & Co., Liverpool.

His firm is largely engaged in the corn trade, and he, himself, has been for upward of 20 years concerned in it. From his examination in 1833, the following statements are condensed:

"We are in the practice of estimating the produce of the wheat crop annually. The practice is to send persons furnished with suitable instruments by which to measure given portions of the land under wheat. The route being uniform, we are enabled to form a scale through which to institute a comparison as to the amount producing the crop. The extent is from 800 to 1,000 miles, sufficient, as we deem it, to give a very fair average of the whole of England. They generally give an opinion as to what they see of the old corn remaining in stack yards, with other observations; but offer no opinion upon the object of their mission, merely following the routine fixed for them, and the result is arrived at from data thus procured. The examinations take place in fixed stages, perhaps 18 or 20 miles each; and the dimensions, taken at about equal distances, form a figure under which the acreable produce is represented. Everything below the figure shows a produce below the average; everything above the figure shows a produce above the average. We have this register so framed since 1815, not with accuracy prior to that time, though the examinations were commenced some years before. The examination taken, refers only to acreable produce; we have adopted no means of ascertaining what number of acres are under wheat. An average crop is not equal to the consumption. An average crop may be about nine per cent. less than the consumption. [Mr. H. estimates the consumption at 12,000,000 quarters.] The average deficiency has been much greater since 1833. I refer to the average of the whole period of 17 years, over which the survey of the crop extends. The regulation of the scale, with regard to quantity, we have found singularly accurate; as to price, not equally so. Price is affected by circumstances, such as public opinion, currency, and causes not always strictly subservient to quantity. During the period of 17 years, already referred to, as to quantity, the actual importation was 1,120,000 annually, and, according to the figure of the examinations of crop, it should have been 1,060,000 quarters, which is a singularly close approximation. One even much less near would have been conclusive as to the value of the plan affording a good criterion WEEKLY, to judge of the produce of the home growth of wheat."

In his examination, March 4, 1836, the following passages are found, including the questions and answers:

"1932. You think the crop of wheat last year remains in the hands of the great body of the agriculturists, not in the hands of those who have capital?

"I think there must be a very considerable stock of wheat remaining in

the country, I believe it is not in the hands of the merchants; what class of farmers hold it, I am not able to say.

"1933. When you send your travellers round to ascertain the state of the crops, once a year, prior to harvest, do not you desire them at the same time to make you returns of whether the stack-yards are well or ill stocked with old corn; is not that an important part of your calculation as to the probabilities of future prices?

"No, it is not; we do desire it, and obtain it; but it has generally appeared to me to be so uncertain, I have not wished to take away their attention from considering themselves as machines. There is no estimate on the part of the men whom we send round; they go with a measuring machine, and give the result of the dimensions accurately taken. I am afraid of giving them much discretionary power, showing them that I should rely much on what they gave as matter of opinion. I should be afraid of diverting their attention.

"1934. What do you mean by a measuring machine?

"We have a regular mode of examining all fields in different districts.

"1935. Do you mean they have any machine by which to measure if it is a good, middling, or bad crop?

"Yes.

"1936. What sort of a machine is it?

"It is a very simple machine.

"1937. He does use a machine?

"Yes.

"1938. How can he go into different fields?

"He possibly commits a trespass. He decides to examine, we will say, alternate fields, and takes them as he proceeds, without consulting any judgment at all, merely going into every alternate field; or, when starting in the morning, resolves to take every third field, or every second; and, whether large or small, whether clay or gravel, makes no subsequent selection; so that out of 40 stages in the course of the survey, I form the average result.

"1939. Might not different portions of the same field show very different results from the application of this machine?

"No doubt, and there is no possibility of reducing any plan of the kind to certainty, but, in a matter of uncertainty, it is the least objectionable of any with which I am acquainted.

"1940. Does he judge with his eye about what is the average portion of the fields, and then apply his machine to measure that average portion, and thence draw his conclusions?

"On entering a field, he looks at it, and goes to a particular part of it, according to the size of it, takes his dimensions, and does not use any judgment beyond that; and by that means arrives at as fair a result as can be expected from the process.

"1941. Does he ascertain the quantity?

"Yes; suppose a square yard, he ascertains what it contains, and this may be done through a thousand fields.

"1942. Then his judgment might be according to the bulk of the straw: he can not tell if it is well-eared?

"No; he makes up a given number of ears, taken indiscriminately, and sends them down to me, and I have them threshed.

"1943. He takes a given surface, and cuts off the ears, and sends them to you?

"Yes.

"1944. Does he pay no attention to the quantity grown, whether it is more or less than another year?

"The survey is very incomplete, in consequence of that deficiency, but it would take too much time and expense. I recommended it to Mr. Huskisson, and he was very much disposed to do it; and it is very much to be regretted that there is so little information on a subject of such deep practical importance. If your lordships saw it in the light I do (I have been attending to it for twenty years) and if you saw the importance of it in the way I do, I think Government might have an annual statement that would be of the utmost practical importance. If the parishes throughout the kingdom were required by the overseers to make a return of all the land and its occupation in each parish, and the result be published in the Gazette, every June, your lordships would know, the farmer would know, the merchant would know, the extent of land under crop and grass, and the question be one of acreable produce.

"1945. You say that your messenger makes no inquiry as to the stock remaining in the farmers' hands?

"I did not mean to say he made no inquiry, but it is not charged on him as a part of his duty; I think he has enough to do in what he is required to perform. I am rather afraid of his opinions; my object is facts; and if I exalted his opinion too much, I should fear to divert his attention from his duty, which is more mechanical than the exercise of judgment.

"1946. The fact of the quantity remaining in the hands of the farmer, as well as that in the stock, must be a matter of importance, to enable the person to judge what would be the probable price next year, should it not?

"Yes; but I think you come best at that information by knowing what the produce was; for you are not to suppose the consumption to vary materially. I wish to ascertain that, by a particular figure, which gives me the crop and consumption; and, if I find it much below or above, I draw my inference of what will be the stock. If I had the means of accurately knowing what was the stock, it would be better than these figures; but I consider the figure to offer me a better datum on which to proceed than general notion, derived from servants or general inquiry. In the line of road, you might find a good many ricks in one place and few in another; it would be a very operose and uncertain business."

A statement of the same gentleman, on the practicability of keeping wheat for a long time, may be worth copying:

"1995. Can you, as a dealer in corn, say how long you reckon that wheat, well harvested, can keep without deterioration?

"It suffers deterioration, however well harvested, from keeping, unless kept in the straw; where, I should think, it would not deteriorate; it would lose in quantity, but not much in quality. There is a freshness in new grain which is lost in old, but it will retain its valuable property for making sound bread indefinitely. I have some now by me, which I have kept in sacks or small bags, average samples of England, for the last fourteen or fifteen years, perhaps twenty years, and I do not think there is any material change. I am quite satisfied, if you could keep wheat in bags, so as to exclude the atmosphere from it, you might keep it a century.

"1996. Is it not the usual mode of keeping wheat, for the purpose of keeping it in order, to turn it over and expose it to the air generally?

"Yes, it is the general practice; the grand desideratum must be to have your wheat in a very fine condition when you place it in store, and then you must not admit the air partially. If you admit the air partially, you will be obliged to turn it in the way alluded to. If you could exclude the air wholly, it will be better so to keep it."

[D.]

HISTORY OF THE CORN LAWS.

In early days, England was an exporting corn country.

1393. Corn might be exported to any country, except to the king's enemies.

1436. The exportation of wheat was allowed without license, when the prices were less than 6*s.* 8*d.* per quarter. This law (15 Hen. 6) was declared to be for the relief of the farmers.

1463. The tables had turned, and the first corn law was passed, that no wheat should be imported unless the price exceeded 6*s.* 8*d.* per quarter. As a matter of fact, the price never fell below this price, and importation was practically free.

1592. The price at which exportation was permitted was raised to 20*s.*, and a duty fixed at 2*s.*

1603. The importation price was raised to 26*s.* 8*d.*, and a few years after to 32*s.*

1660. A new scale introduced. When wheat was under 44*s.*, the export duty was 5*s.* 6*d.*, and when above 44*s*, the duty rose to 6*s.* 8*d.*; and, when under 40*s.*, exportation was free.

1663. To encourage the cultivation of waste land by extending exportation, the export duty was reduced to 5*s.* 4*d.*, when the price was not over 48*s.*

1670. To afford further relief to agriculture, the export duty was reduced to 1*s.*, as long as wheat was under 53*s.* 4*d.*, and foreign corn was loaded with an excluding duty of 16*s.*, when the price was under 53*s.* 4*d.*, and 8*s.*, when above that and under 80*s.*

1689. Immediately after the revolution, the landed interest obtained further encouragement, by a direct bounty on exportation of 5*s.*, when the price of wheat was not over 48*s.*

1699. So soon, a series of unfavorable seasons raised prices, and the bounty was suspended by act of Parliament for one year.

1750. The sum of £324,176 was paid in bounties on the exportation of corn.

1766. The price of the quartern loaf was 1*s.* 6*d.*, and exportation was suspended.

1773. The city of London offered a bounty of 4*s.* per quarter, for 20,000 quarters, imported between March and June.

1774. A new law came into effect, designed to prevent these fluctuations of price, by affording more advantageous terms than before. It fixed the duty at 6*d.*, when wheat was above 48*s.*, and, when the price exceeded 44*s.*, the exportation and bounty were both to cease.

1791. The landed interest said that the imports kept down the price, and

prevented their obtaining the bounty. Parliament, therefore, enacted a bounty of 5*s.* when wheat was under 44*s.*, and, when above 46*s.*, exportation should cease. A sliding-scale of import duties was adopted, designed to reduce dependance on foreign countries.

When wheat is under 50*s.*, the duty is 24*s.* 6*d.* per quarter.
" " 53*s.*, and under 54*s.*, 2 6 "
" " above 54*s.*, 6 "

The protecting price was then raised from 48*s.* to 54*s.*

The seasons fought against the legislature, the greatest distress prevailed, the imports increased.

1795. The average price of wheat rose from 55*s.* 7*d.* to 108*s.* 4*d.*, and large bounties were offered by Parliament for the importation of wheat. The agricultural districts were disturbed by riots. Dear food was not balanced by high wages.

1804. A committee of Parliament was appointed to inquire into the operation of the law, and the scale was altered, fixing the "high-duty" price at 63*s.*, and the "low-duty," or free-import price, at 66*s.*, the highest bounty price, at 48*s.*, and forbidding exportation, at 54*s.*

1814. The return of peace brought a general reduction of prices, and great complaints of the farmer. The average price of wheat for the year was 34*s.* MORE than in 1813.

1815. Under great excitement, and protected by a military force, Parliament raised the standard to 80*s.*, under which price the importation of wheat was totally prohibited.

The expectation of the farmers, that this law would keep up prices, and enable them to pay the exorbitant rents which had sprung up during the war, were egregiously disappointed. The fluctuations in price amounted to 199½ per cent., and a general cry of agricultural distress led to new experiments.

1822. A proclamation was issued, admitting sundry descriptions of grain at a nominal duty, to mitigate the general calamity.

1827. Mr. Canning introduced a plan for a sliding scale, fixing the duty at 1*s.* when wheat was 70*s.*, and imposing a duty of 2*s.* for each shilling of reduction in the price. This was defended by the Duke of Wellington, who obtained the insertion of a clause prohibiting importation when wheat is below 66*s.*

1828. Mr. Grant's corn law was passed, with a sliding scale. When wheat is 73*s.*, and upward, the duty is 1*s.*; at 72*s.*, it is 2*s.* 8*d.*; at 71*s.*, it is 6*s.* 8*d.*; at 70*s.*, it is 10*s.* 8*d.*; at 69*s.*, it is 13*s.* 8*d.*; at 68*s.* it is 16*s.* 8*d.*; at 67*s.*, it is 18*s.* 8*d.*; at 66*s.*, it is 20*s.* 8*d.*; and then, for every shilling the price falls, the duty is increased 1*s.* Colonial wheat pays 6*d.* when the price is 67*s.*, and 5*s.* when it is below 67*s.* Barley, at 32*s.* pays 13*s.* 10*d.* Oats, at 24*s.*, pays 10*s.* 9*d.* Rye and other grains, and beans, at 35*s.* pays 16*s.* 9*d.*; and, for every shilling the price falls from that, the duty rises 2*s.*, and falls 2*s.* for every shilling the price rises.

1841, April 30. Lord John Russell announced his intention of moving a system of fixed duties instead of the sliding scale, viz: wheat, 8*s.*; barley, 4*s.* 6*d.*; oats, 3*s.* 4*d.*; and rye and other grain, 5*s.* The result was the dissolution of Parliament, the defeat of the whigs, and the restoration of Sir Robert Peel and the tories to power.

1842, February 3. Sir Robert Peel gave notice of a motion for a committee of the whole house to consider the corn laws.

February 9. The new ministerial plan was introduced. It reduced the maximum duty from 36*s.* 8*d.* to 20*s.* when wheat is from 50*s.* to 51*s.*; at 51*s.*, the duty is 19*s.*; at 52*s.*, it is 18*s.*; then it leaps to 55*s.*, when the duty is 17*s.*; then, by a regular reduction of 1*s.* duty for every 1*s.* addition to the price, up to 66*s.*, when the duty is 6*s.*; then, at 69*s.*, it is 5*s.*; and, again, by regular gradation, so that, at 73*s.*, or above, the duty is 1*s.* Colonial wheat to pay 5*s.* when the price is 55*s.*; then to fall 1*s.* regularly, until the price rises to 58*s.*; when the duty is 1*s.* Oats to pay a maximum duty of 8*s.*, and barley of 11*s.* when the price is under 26*s.*, and 2*s.* when the price is 37*s.*

If any thing further were needed to show the uncertainty and perpetual vacillation of the restrictive system, or artificial *protection*, as it is called, the following samples of legislative wisdom will be instructive. They show the never-ending operation of the great insolvable problem, which the advocates of protection have so long tried in vain to work out, viz., how to prohibit foreigners from selling either a class or all of their products to your own people, without at the same time lessening their ability or willingness to buy the products of your own country.

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